

THE SWEISH INTELLIGENCER.

The Second Part.

WHEREIN,

OVT OF THE TRVEST

and choysest Informations, are the

famous Actions of that warlike Prince

Historically led along: from the

victory of Leipsich, unto the Con-

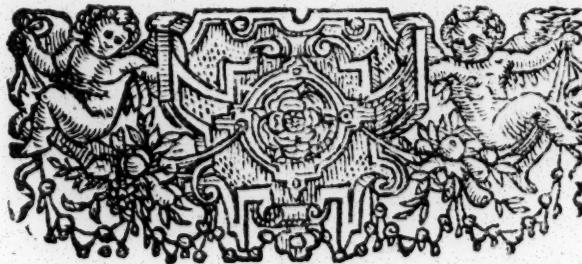
quest of Bavaria.

The times and places of every Action,

being so sufficiently obſerved and descri-

bed; that the Reader may finde both

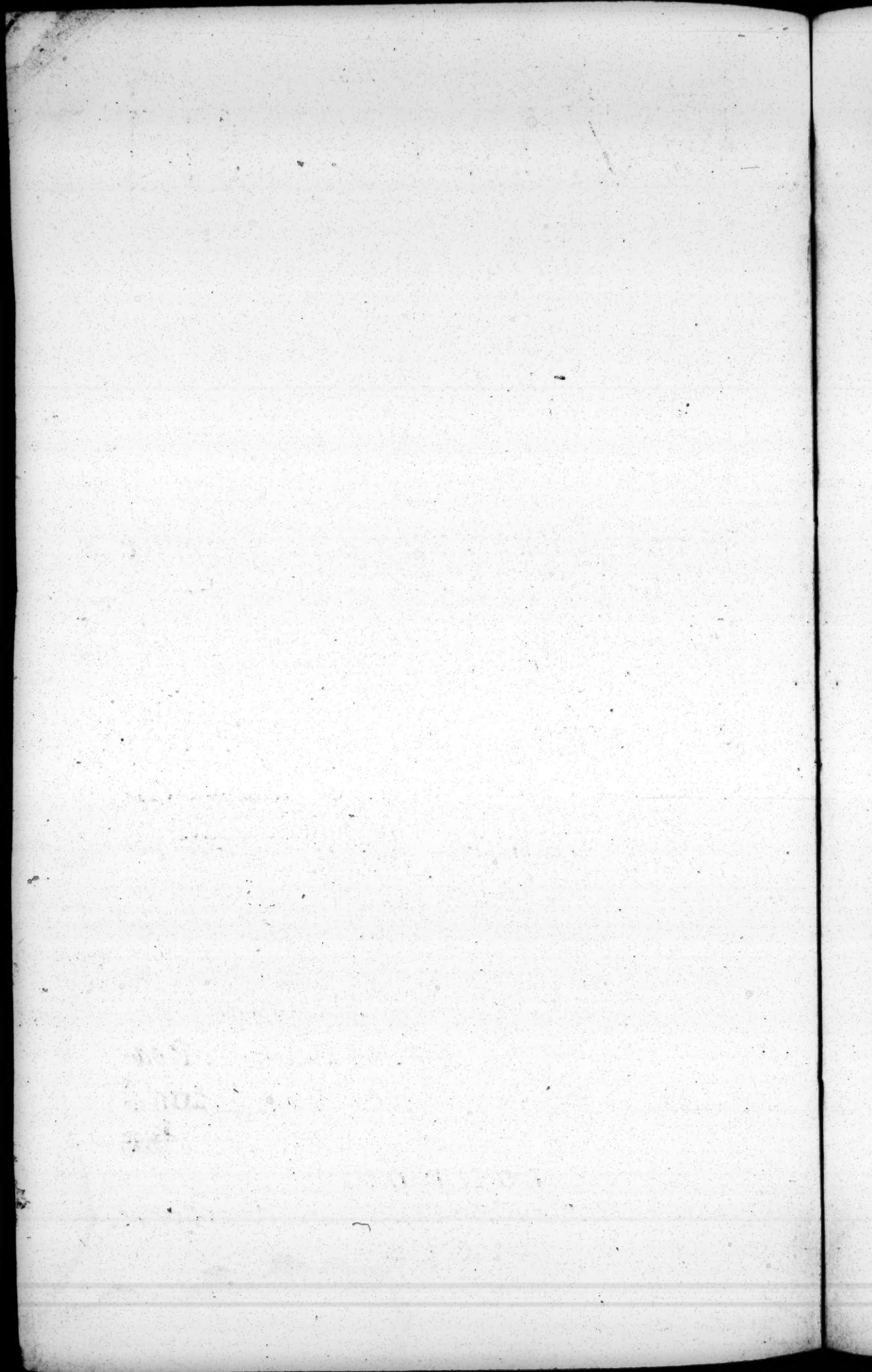
Truth and Reason in it.



L O N D O N,

Printed by I. L. for Nath: Butter and Nicholas Bourne.

1632.





The Preface.

TO THE FAVOVRABLE AND IVDICIOVS Reader.

Hen is a *Booke* thorowly allowed, when *Seene* and *Allowed*: when the *Readers* have approoved it, as well as the *Licencer*. With this favourablenesse (as I thankfully must acknowledge) have my *former Bookes* beene entertained: yea, most favourably, by the most *Iudicious*. In an humble hope therefore, of the like acceptance; does my *Dedication* in the same *Style*, againe preferre it selfe to its old *Patrones*-*generall*, *The Favourable and Iudicious Readers*. *The King of Sweden* (though arm'd

To the Reader.

but in *Paper*) cannot but *Conquer*. I meane *affections*. Since then I no waies could pre-sume, that my *Stile* or *simple performance*, should in any degree inveigle your *Judge-ments*; this onely became my encourage-ment, That though this *Story* should goe out of my hands, poorely enough and weakely endited: yet that the *prevailing Fortunes* of the King of *Sweden*, would so potently assist and goe along with it; as that by that time it came into your hands, it would so prevaile with your *affections*; and so *gently* in the reading, *capture* the *attentions* of all the favourers of his actions, that their *Judgements* (for the time) should become deprived of this part of their due liberties; and forbear the *power*, though, not of *see-ing* yet of *censuring*, my *errors*.

The *First Part* I undertooke, to cheere up the long-exercised expectations of such well-affected *English*, as desired in their dayes, to see some *ease* and *consolation*, to the miserably afflicted *Churches of Germany*. In that poore *Booke*, our *Nation* first read,

That

To the Reader.

That God had begun to send a Deliverer vnto His people. This (me thoughts) in a time of my leasure, was a worke not altogether beneath me: and that to bring Glad tidings, was next unto the Preaching of the Gospel. To the going on with this Second Part, hath the united and repeated desires, of well-disposed people provoked me: I could not take so many expectations of my *Betters*, for lesse then a *Command*; and that it was a *Duty* to satisfie them.

My *Booke* hath many mens *Stories*: but I have laboured most upon the Kings. In penning of the *whole*, I had these two *ambitions*; *Truth* and *Plainenesse*. The compassing of the *First*, (besides the chargeableness of procuring the *Intelligence*, out of the Armies and else-where) hath cost mee much more paines, then the bare writing: my care was, to learne out, and get acquainted with such understanding Gentlemen, as had beene personally present in the *Actions*. To some of these, hath my *Margent* beene already thankfull: and here, especially, am

To the Reader.

I againe, to that Gentleman of curious obseruation, whom you shall find named *Page 46*, in the *Margent*. I will not bee much displeased, if *Gallobelgicus* shall anywhere differ from me: this by his former Bookes I perceive, that he hath made use of but few things, which I have not seene before his *Mart*: and my *diligence* (I believe) hath not beene behind his; and my *Intelligence*, I know to bee farre *better*. *Truth* is the pearle, I sought for; which I have still preferred before *fauour*: and had the *Imperialists* well beaten the *Swedish* now and then; I would not have omitted it. *Variety*, is some *ornament* to a *Booke*: part of which mine now wants; as running altogether upon the victories of the King of *Sweden*. If then any contrarily-affected shall give out, That I have omitted their victories: besides this answer to them, That they should have done well to have sent me in their *Intelligence*: I further demand, What victories these were, which suffered the King of *Sweden* to march up and

To the Reader.

and downe so many hundred miles in Germany: and that I never read, (in the compasse of the time of this Story) of any enterprize he undertooke, but he prevailed in it: his fortunes never receiving any remarkeable or considerable checke, but at *Ingolstat* only. This truely I beleeve; That all their supposed victories, which they have so often here given out, will hardly (yet) make up a *Second Part* of the *Laurea Austriaca*. Errors, I cannot but have: but they are *casuall*, and not *affected* ones; they are my *ignorances*, not my *purposes*. And if those that know better, (and be sure they doe so) will adde to, or controll this; I shall thanke them for satisfying my *Readers*, in what I would have serv'd them; had I either known more *Truth*, or more *Circumstances*.

As for my *second Ambition*, *Plainnesse*; that have I also laboured upon. I affected not to be too *concise*, or too *sententious*. My care was, not to hunt for praise; by the corrupting of our noble Language, with fine new phrases, and unhappy coyn'd words:

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To the Reader.

the presumptions of an over-bold fancy. Some *military Termes*, may perchance be obscure, because proper: which being their commendation, I would not (in this) descend unto every capacity. In a many of these, may the Reader satisfie himselfe, in my *Swedish Discipline*: and for understanding of the rest, my Booke must waite the improvement of its *Readers industrie*. To make all more *Plaine*, I have noted the *places* of every Action. The King of *Sweden* cannot flie: therefore have I specified the *distances* and *lyings* of the *Townes*; that you may perceive the *orderlinesse* and *probabilityes* of the Kings *Proceedings*: and that there was no *impossibility* in his Conquests. I have beene carefull, (if not too curious) in this point: and have taught those *Readers* that have *Mapps*, how to turne them. This commodity because all have not; and that in the same *Mappe* there be many townes of the same names; therefore have I beene so particular in my *Descriptions*.

This one addition had I purposed to have
made

To the Reader.

made unto my Story: the Journall, namely, or *Diarye of the Actions of the Lower Saxony*. And that, betweene the Armies and Generalls of the two adverse Leagues, the Protestants and the Catholikes. That is to say; Betwixt the Lord Marquesse of Hamilton, Duke William of Saxon-Weymar, the Lord Achatius Todt, Sir John Banier, and Bauditz: all Generalls for the King of Sweden, the Head of the League. Together with the two Dukes of Mecklenburg, the Dukes of Lunenburg and Saxon-Lauenburg, the Landgrave of Hessen, and the Bishop of Bremen; all Generalls for themselues, and the Protestant-League, respectively: on the one party. And, the Earles of Pappenhaim and Mansfeld, the Barons of Gronsfelt and Virmont; with Reinacher, Boenickhausen, and other Governours and Commanders: for the Imperiall party. But this have I beene forced to leave out, for want of conference with such Gentlemen, as had personally beene employed in the Actions: an instruction, which I much preferre, before all written Intelligences.

To the Reader

gences. My Preface, was onely to make the Readers understand my purpose; and I hope I have done it. The Readers must be allowed the liberty of their severall verdicts: and though they should differ, yet must all passe for *Judgement*. The pleasing of them, must be put to the venture: but if I might not be thought partiall to mine owne; I would freely enough confess, That having taken treble paines in *This*, more then in my *Former*; I had in *This* given my selfe so much the more satisfaction, then in the *Former*. With this comfort doe I now part with my *Booke*: *That I haue not yet entered upon a foyld Story*. God turne the warres to a happy issue: I had much rather write of *Peace*, then *Victory*.

The



The Contents and Methode of the whole.

I.

THE King of *Swedens* owne
Story, till the time he recei-
ved the Newes of *Tillies* put-
ting *Gustavus Horn* out of *Bam-
berg*.

II.

Gustavus Horns Proceedings, apart:
from the time of the Kings lea-
ving him about *Wurzburg*; un-
till the former businesse betwixt
Him and Tilly.

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III.

THE CONTENTS.

III.

The Generall *Tillyes* Preparations and Proceedings ; from his defeate at *Leipsich*, until his putting of *Gustavus Horn* out of *Bamberg*. At the end of this, have you the Duke of *Bavaria's* Story.

III.

The Kings *March* up into *Bavaria* against *Tilly* : with his *Conquest* of that *Dukedom*, and finall Overthrow and death of *Tilly*. To this is added, the Actions of Sir *Patrick Ruthven* and others, about *Vlm.*

V.

The Duke of *Bavaria's* Manifest in favour of the *Catholike* Party.

VI.

The Duke of *Saxonyes* taking, and losing againe of *Bohemia*.

VII.

THE CONTENTS, &c.

VII.

The *Actions of Albert Walenstein,*
Duke of *Fridland*: both against
the Duke of *Saxony*, and the
King of *Sweden*; untill his
encamping before *Norimberg*.

John Blitho his book

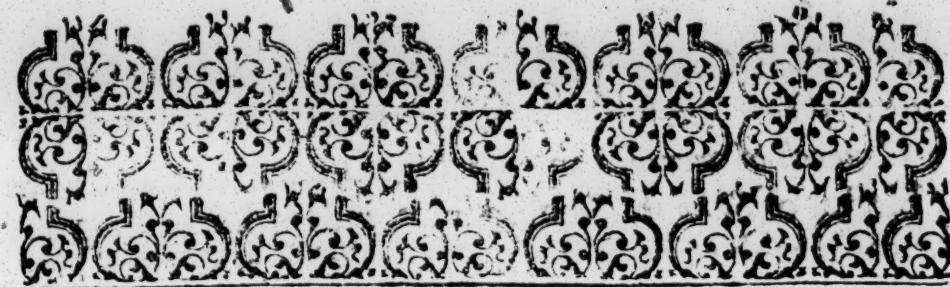


Errata.

PAg. 43, line 23 in some copies. for, *Scarcey*
was the King from Hebron, reade, *the King gone*
from Hebron pag. 157. line 24. for, *upon the fourth*
of April, Reade, *upon the Fourteenth*. In stead of
pag. 177, reade 167. Literall faults, we desire the
Reader to beare withall. pag. 115. Line 5. for
Haibron reade *Hailbrun*. pag. 138. line 24. for
Schneidewin, reade *Redwin*.



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THE SWEDISH Intelligencer.

The Second Part.

From the *Victory of Leipsich*, unto
the *Conquest of Bavaria*.



ROM *Victory to Conquest*: these are the two *Termes of Progression* of the King of *Swedens* (hitherto) fortunate atchievements. The *Victory of Leipsich*, we haue for their sakes that are curious, taken paines the second time to describe in our booke of the *Swedish Discipline*: where that famous action is farre more largely and punctually set downe, then our *Intelligence* would at first serue vs to doe; at the setting forth of the former part of this *Story*. The *Conquest of Bauaria* is the terminating *Terme*; with which our purpose is to cloaze vp this *second Part* of our *Intelligencer*.

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Wee left the King of Sweden in our *Former part*, where even the ablest Generall (especially before the beginning of any great Action) must not despise now and then to be present: at a *Councell of warre*, namely; together with his Highnesse the Elector of Saxony. Single advice, ends in double dangers: whereas even the warres themselves receive as much strengthening by an *Union of heads*, as by an *uniting of hands*. What the Conclusions of that *Military Consultation* were; though in expresse termes wee know not; yet by the next Actions of warre may we collect thus much amongst the rest, to haue beeene then at *Hall* agreed upon.

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it was a-
ed upon be-
xt the King
the Duke
Saxon.

1. That the fleeing enemy being so farre already escaped, should at that time be no further pursued.
2. That the chiefe Army of the *Catholike Leaguers* being now broken, the Lands of the *Leaguers* themselves that refused to make their peace, should in the order as they next lay, be also set upon: that so by singly disabling of the *Leaguers*, the *League* it selfe might vniversally at length be shaken.
3. To cut out the more worke at once for the Emperor; Saxony, after he had cleared his owne *Lusatia*, was also to fall into the Kingdome of *Bohemia*.
4. Care was also had, of the ruined estate of the Towne and Bishopricke of *Magdenburg*: in which *Diocesse*, together with that of *Halberstat*, the King of *Sweden* even now appointed *Lodowicke Prince of Anhalt* for his Governor; committing the military command in those parts unto *Colonell Schneiderwin*: a man that both knew the countrey well enough, and that had beeene faithfull and forward withall unto his former Master, the unfortunate *Administrator*.

Things being thus agreed upon, and the Kings Army by the middle of September come together againe; his Majesty having intelligence of *Altringers* and *Fuggers* (two of the Emperors Generals) late being about *Erfurt*: shapes his first course towards that City, which was the next good towne on that side belonging unto any of the *Catholike Leaguers*. Directing his march therefore to the South-west, and crossing the

the River of *Sala*; into the Country of *Duringen* or *Thurin-gia* he goes: leading an army of 20000 men (more some write) along with him. Keeping then the River of *Un-strut* close upon his right hand, unto the towne of *Gross Sommeren*, (upon the Easterne banke of the said River) he comes: where for that night, (September 17.) he sets downe with his Armie. From this Towne hee immediately dispatches his letters unto the great City of *Erfurt*, demanding to haue it forthwith delivered unto him. This towne, situate upon *Erfurt* summoned. the River *Iera*, is for compasse one of the greatest of *Germany*; being ennobled with an *University* withall: both at this time belonging unto the Arch-bishop Elector of *Menz* (the first spirituall person of the *Catholick Leaguers*:) unto whose towne of *Menz*, the old Bishopricke of *Erfurt*, and the temporall dominion withall, had long since beene translated. Backe the next day come the Kings Messengers with this answere of the Cittizens, That they held for the Elector of *Menz*, to whom they had taken the oath of fidelity. The King not taking this for satisfaction, presently with his army advances towards it: yet in the meane time were his second Summons sent unto them, either forthwith to yeeld their towne, or to stand to the hazzard of the wars. Out come the towne Deputies to treat; desiring, but 3. dayes respit to consider of it. This being denyed them, and they offring to returne into the town; the King sends Duke *William of Saxon-Wymar* along with them; who with some troopes of horse entering the outer Port, together with the Deputyes; presently makes good the place, by staying his horses and wagons betweene the two Ports. After which, having disarmed the souldiours of the next Courts of guard; and nine other troopes of *Swedish* horse, having by this time possessed themselves of the other gate also: he with his first companyes rides immediately up into the market place. Causing now the chiefe Burgers to come before him, hee after much arguing to and againe, wrings the towne keyes out of their hands; in steade of which, he in the King of *Sweden*s name tenders them these Fayrely taken

twelve Propositions, forthwith to set their hands unto.

1. That they should renounce their fealty unto the Bishop of *Ments*.

2. Take an oath of Fidelity unto the King of *Sweden*, the Electors, and Dukes of *Saxony*.

3. Accept of a *Swedish* garrison of at least 1500 men.

4. And procure that garrison to be maintained, at the common charges of the Subjects of the Countyes of *Schwartzenburg* and *Gleichen*.

5. Suffering their City to bee new fortified in places convenient.

6. The charges of which fortifications they laying out, should be againe paide them by the Princes of the House of *Saxony*.

7. That in case of necessity, the Towne should be still open for the House of *Saxony* to retire into.

8. That in stead of the Elector of *Menz* his *Court of Justice*, the Elector of *Saxonyes Chancery* should be received into the City: which should be maintained out of the revenues of the Cloysters.

9. That the government of the towne should still be left unto their owne *Senate*: which might in numbers hereafter be encreased, as necessity required.

10. That the *Romane Catholickes* should either change their Religion, or forsake the Towne: and that leaving their estates, they should demand Licence for their departure.

11. For the better assuring of the Cittizens fidelity, should the *Queene of Sweden* come to reside among them.

12. That the charges of fitting the palace of *Stotternhem* for her Majesties residence, should be levied out of the goods of the *Roman Catholickes* that had forsaken the City.

Thus became *Erfurt* accorded with the King, September 18. 1631. without bloodshed. The next day came his Majesties selfe into the Towne, with some 10000. of his men after him; whom he billeted in the *Dom Petersberg* and the

the *Jesuits* Clovster. With the *Priests* and *Jesuites* did the King vouchsafe some conference, as tis said: to whom he both promised and proclaimed, that if they would acknowledge him for their *Liege Lord*, they should no wayes be molested, either in goods or Conscience. To the Magistrates he promised, that for their quiet and solemne receiving of him, he would continue them their former priviledges, and his owne Royall protection. The Governor which he appointed to leave with them, was he that so handfomely tooke in the Towne, and their neere neighbour, Duke *William* of *Saxon-Wymar* aforesaid: with whom he left for garrison partly, and to begin an army; two Regiments of Foote, and one of Horse. In this Towne the King staid a whole weekes space, taking a view in that time of such places, where it was most necessary to have the City fortified: which worke was thought likely to amount unto two Millions of Dollars.

And now is his Majesty determined for an expedition into *Franconia*. The two chiefe spirituall members of the *Catholick League* in that Countrey, are the Bishops of *Wurzburg* and of *Bamberg*, unto whom either in the while that he staid at *Erfurt*, or a little after: the King sends his Letters of *Invitation*, or of *Summons*, to draw them off from the *League*, if they pleased; and to free thereby their Countreys from invasion. And this might serve them as a *Herald at Armes*, either to desire their amity; or if that were refuled, to forewarne them of his comming. And that he did thus fayrely deale with them, I find it mentioned in his Majesties owne *Declaration* published afterwards at *Wurzburg*. Taking leave of *Erfurt* therefore, September 26. *old style*: and bending his course due South from thence, and along the westerne shoare of the said River of *Iera*; towards *Arnstadt* in the little County of *Schwartzenburg* he marches: lodging the same night in a fayre Castle there, belonging unto *Gunther* Earle of *Schwartzenburg*. The next day September 27. unto *Ilmenau* he comes; a Towne upon the River *Ilm*, in the

very edge of the Forest of *Duringen*, or the *Duringer Waldt*: where he rests his army againe till the next day towards euening. Hence was the valiant Field-Marshall *Gustavus Horn*, together with *Baudissen* Leiftenant-Generall of the Horse, dispatched away. Eight or 10000. men they were said to leade along with them: one part of their designe being reported to be, to seeke out *Altringer* and *Fugger*, with whom one of the Earles of *Mansveld* had now also conioyned his forces. *Gustavus Horn* abroad. These 3. being heard of to be together beyond *Isenach* upon the frontiers of *Hessen*, (betwixt the rivers of *Nesa* and *Werra*) in search of them doe the 2. Swedish Generals goe as farre as *Walterhausen* first, and so onwards unto *Isenach*, both Westward of the city of *Erfurt*. But *Altringer* was not to be spoken withall; his men were afraid of the very name or shadow of a *Swede*: whom they had not so much mind to meeete withall, as to conioyne themselues with *Tilly*: for which purpose they were already marched from *Isenach* unto *Munden*, whither shortly after, *Tilly* had appointed them to come. But *Horn* and *Baudissen*, as they made no long stay, so lost they not all their labour; seeing in their returne they tooke in the city of *Gota* first, (some 4. leagues to the West of *Erfurt*:) and that part of the little County of *Henneberg*, (on the County of *neberg*. South-west side of the *Duringer Waldt*) afterwards; which the King had left untouched: conioyning their forces last of all unto the Kings army at *Konigshoven*; which way we left the King now going.

September 28. towards euening he sets forward from *Ilmenau* againe, euen into the thickest of the *Duringer Forest*. And for the souldiers better seeing of their way in the night time, were there wisps, and cresset lights made in pans, &c. hung vpon the trees, with other such like prouisions. This Forest being in a right line passed thorow, the army arriues at *Schleusing* in *Franconia*; whence they directly marched towards *Konigshoven*: before which (being 4. leagues and an halfe distant) they the next day presented 4. Regiments, when as they were there least looked for. This strong towne of *Konigshoven*,

King passes
Duringer-
dt, into
nkenland,
Franconia.

Konigshoven, is the chiefe Fortresse and Store-house of that plentifull countrey ; the Seate and Court, (for the most part) of the great Bishop of *Wurzburg* ; and one of the chiefe keyes, on that side, vnto the Bishopricks of *Wurzburg* and of *Bamberg*. The *Swedens* giuing summons to the towne in their Kings name, were vouchsafed no other answer, then what was by the report of the Canon returned them : The Summons being refused, the Seige is laid. The King hauing runne Where he bi his lynes, and raised his batteries before the towne; beates har- seiges *Konigshoven*, dest vpon a certaine strong and high tower, from whence the towne Ordinance did mostly annoy him. This being sore shaken, and ready for assault, the King next of all by a trumpet sent into the City, gives them faire advice to send away all their women and children: seeing if he must needes be put to take the place by assault, he would giue their houses for pil- lage vnto his souldiers, put all the people to the fword, beate downe the towne about their cares, and afterwards turne it all into Cinders. The garrison perceiving no succours ready to relieve them from their Bishop (whom it most concerned) fall to capitulate for their lives ; presently yeelding up that strong place unto his Maiesty. Here were found great store And takes it. of Ordnance, and a wonderfull plenty of victuals, provisions and Ammunition of all kinds.

Entrance being thus happily gained into *Franconia* in the end of September, the fame of the Kings taking so principall and strong a Fort, strake such a terror into the Country thereabouts; that the *Catholike Commissioners* now assembled at the *Diet of Frankford* on the *Maine*, with all speede forfake the place; without staying to dispatch any of the Emperors or *Catholike Leaguers* businesse, which they came thither for. This *Konigshoven* being very strong before, does the King (as his custome is to doe, with all conquered places of importance) cause to be more fortified after his own manner : leaving a garrison in it, and the Duke *Ernestus* of *Saxon-Wymar* for their Governor.

From this place our Conqueror moves toward *Schmiden*-
firs,

furt, a pretty Imperiall City, some 6. leagues to the South of *Konigshoven*; and seated upon the North-West banke of the river of *Mayn* before mentioned. Here (to begin the Month of October withall) was he admitted without resistance: the garrison going out thence into *Wurzburg*, some two dayes march (or 6. leagues) distant from this *Schweinfurt*. October the second, the King with som: 18. troopes of Hor: e comes into the towne, where he hath the *Oath of fidelity* made him by the Citizens. Observing in his view of the City (where he staied not above an houre in all) how commodiously it was seated for the passage of the *Mayn*; he giues order to haue it new fortified: leaving 3. Companies of Foote, and two troopes of Dragooners in it for garrison. Sending his forces now severall wayes about at one instant, he hath divers places at once, upon easie termes delivered up unto him in the Bishoprick of *Bamberg*; as *Hasfurt*, *Gemund*, *Lohr*, *Volcach*, *Kitzing*, *Oxenfurt*, *Remling* and *Karlstadt*, all situated upon the *Mayn*: which river his Maiesty was now very desirous to make himselfe Master of. Very well did this wise King perceive, That the methode of *Warre* was the same (in this point) with the methode of *Nature*; and how a countrey is by the same meanes and degrees to be *conquered*, by which it was at first *peopled*: and that was, by the great and navigable rivers. For besides that the richest and the strongest Cities be ever situated vpon their banks; and that at those Cities, be still the *Bridges* and *Passes* over into other countries: by their streames also, up and downe, are the riches and forces of the Kingdome cōveighed; w^{ch} wil quickly beate the *Land-conqueror* out of the field, that is not Master of those *waters*. These, with other considerations of the excellent advantage of ha-
ving a good river to friend; as the neerenesse of fresh water, both for horse and man; the commodiousnesse of carriages; the naturall fortification to the army on that side, whereby all sudden *Carisadoes* and fallings on of the enemy are preven-
ted: are some of the maine reasons that no wise warriour ought to thinke himselfe a Conqueror, untill such time as he hath

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hath the command of the water, as well as of the land. And therefore hath the King of *Sweden* (if you marke the orderliness of his proceeding) still coasted it along upon the Rivers. Thus whereas He at his first comming into *Germanie*, sought to land in the mouth of the *Oder*; he so long pursued the course of that streme, untill it brought him into the river *Havel*; and that, into the *Elb*: the banks whereof when he had lately left unto the Duke of *Saxonie*; then seekes he to the *Mayn*; as he afterwards did unto the *Rhine* and *Danubie*.

The same first of October that *Schweinfurt* was yeelded unto the King; his Maiesy (it seemes) sent abroad his letters of generall Summons unto the Countrey. The Date of them is from *Madenhausen*, a village neere unto *Schweinfurt*, where ^{The King summons the} his Maiesties head-quarter, perchance, at that time lay. The ^{country: & wi} Direction is, To all the Cities of and about the *Circle of Fran-* ^{good successe} ^{The Empire} ^{devided into} ^{10. Circles: of} ^{which this ci} ^{cle of Francon} ^{is the first.} *conia*. The Purpose, That whereas the *Protestants* were every where oppressed by the *Papists*; and that his comming had principally been for their deliverance: therefore those Protestant townes and others that had any *Imperiall* or *Leaguish* garrisons in them, should drive them out and open their gates unto the *Swedish* forces. Those that so did, he would protect; those that refused, or delayed, he would pursue the Law of Armes upon: protesting himselfe to be innocent, of whatsoever evill should betide upon their refusall. Their answer he would expect by the next morning. And now became the King as *vorious* with his pen, as formerly he had beeene with his pike: for upon promise of protection, freedome of conscience, and from garrisons: many townes and Cities at that time committed themselves unto his mercy. The great ^{The Bishop of} ^{Bamberg makes his peace with} *Bishop of Bamberg* himselfe, with his *Chapter of Dom-herren* or *Prebendaries* of the Church, sent with as much speed as might be, their Ambassadors unto the King, from the strong towne of *Forcheim* whither they were retyred. The price of their peace, must be their assent unto these 4. Articles.

1. To pay the King 3. tunnes of gold, downe upon the dayle.

B

2. And

2. And forthwith deliver him over their 2. strong Fortresses, *Forcheim* and *Cronach*.

3. And contribute so much a moneth unto his warres, as they had before done unto the *Catholike Leaguers*.

4. Recalling all their forces out of the *Catholike* army; utterly renouncing that *Confederation*.

These conditions, though the Bishop was for his peace sake contented to submit unto at the first; yet for all that, so soone as ever himselfe and people had gotten in more forces together, and made up their fortifications: they brake these Articles againe, causing their Bishop afterwards to goe to invite *Tilly* into their Country. This became a great hindrance unto the King afterwards; enforcing him to send *Gustavus Horn* with an army into *Bamberg*: for whom he might otherwise have had better employment.

The Kings next designe was upon *Wurzburg*, which *Francis Hatzfeldt* the new elected Bishop of the place, and Duke of *Franconia* (for so his stile is) hearing of; he being a better *Orator* then a *Soldiour*: with all speede packes up his best Jewels and Treasure; shifting himselfe unto *Franckford* on the *Maine* first, and so into the *Rhine* at *Mentz*: and from that place downe the streme towards *Bon* unto the Elector of *Cullen*; whence in the name of all the *Catholike-Spiritual Leaguers*, he was in Januarey following, sent Ambassador towards the *French King*.

The taking of this *Wurzburg*, would be well worth the labour of a *King of Sweden*; to this therefore does hee now convert his Armes: his strength being said to be seventeene Regiments of Foote, and 8000 Horse, of which, I beleve, he had but two third parts. His power he first presented before the City, upon Tuesday, October 4. 1631. by nine a clocke in the morning. The Towne it selfe lies upon the River of *Maine*; the forme of it being a just *Semicircle*; the River making the *Diameter* unto it. Within the City is there an *University*, and two *Colledges*. Beyond this River, towards the West, and upon a very steepe hill, stands there a goodly

The King besieges Wurzburg.

goodly Castle : some buildings and walls being at the foote of it along the Rivers side , facing the Towne as the *Bankes-side* doth *London*. The East side of the Towne, is for three parts of it compassed about with a handsome Suburb : and that also walled and indifferently fortified. The middle gate of this Suburb the King finding to be shut against The Suburb him, makes it flye open with a powder, (as they say) by clapping a Petard, in stead of a Key, unto it. The Towne within the walls perceiving the King to have thus boldly knockt and come in, without bidding; send out to desire respit of his Majesty, untill 8 a clocke the next morning. This was but a tricke of the Burgers to gaine time and darkenesse withall ; which they that whole day and night made use of, for the conveighing of their best men and chiefest treasure up into the Castle. Wednesday morning being come, the Ports are opened : and the Boores (which the City had for their defence taken in) are put out at the backe doore, as the *Swedens* are let in at the fore-doore. The King being thus peaceably admitted, not a souldier of his was complained of to have done wrong unto any of the Burgers ; nor so much as to have askt or begd any thing ; all expecting the courtesie of the townsmens charitie. Heere the King tendering an oath of fidelity unto the Cittizens, is not denied it : his owne lodging being taken up in the *Duke-Bishops* Palace behind the *Cathedrall*.

and town take

The King thus in possession of the Tewne, could not yet thinke himselfe Master of it, so long as the Castle of *Marienburg* (for so is it called) could at pleasure beate it about his eares. This peece is mounted upon so high a hill, as was to be commanded from no other ground : it having the Towne below at its owne feete. And as strongly was it fortified by Art, as advantageously situated by nature. The hill is a maine rocke; whereof one side is craggy and barren, and the other covered with vines : the whole top of the little mountaine being crowned with the Castle, and with the ditches and out-works of it. Nor wanted here any inward fortifications; 800. or 1000. fighting men, being there in garrison : and as for vi-

The Castle de-
scribed.

etuals, money, and Ammunition, Troy it selfe was not better provided for its ten yeeres siege, then this Fort was. The *Castellan* or *Governour*, was one *Keller*; esteemed till now a good brave fellow: and knowne generally by this brand, That he mortally hated all Protestants and their Religion. All together, finally, made the place appeare so impregnable, that the Kings preparations to attempt upon it were rather scorned then feared, by the garrison: who verily beleaved, that unless the *Swedes* had *wings*, as well as *Armes*, they could never get up thither. Those difficulties that serve for bridles to the sluggish, become spurres unto the industrious: the more insuperable therefore that the place seemed to be, the more desirous was the King to overcome it. Full well he knew besides, that the *consequence* would as much availe him, as the *conquest*: for what should hereafter become unpossible, unto him, that had by fine force taken in the (supposed) impregnable Castle of *Wurzburg*?

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faulting the
castle.

The King being thus resolved, gives order first to have the Castle summoned: which is the onely *Complement* or *Com-
plicity*, that the warres of course admit of. That being refused, he next prepares for the assault. The garrison that retyred out of the towne into the Castle, had themselues broken downe one or two arches of the bridge over the *Mayn*, betweene the towne and the Castle, leaving a planke onely over the broken place, for their owne leisurely passage. All their boates, had they likewise drawne over to the other shoare of the river: so that this was the first difficulty, how to get over the water, and how to come at the Castle. The King having there a *Scotish* Gentleman that spake excellent good *Dutch*, (one Master *Robert Ramsye* a Leiftenant vnder Sir *James Ramsyes* Regiment) him the King puts upon the businesse: to passe over (as a *Dutchman* and one of theirs) upon that planke, and to truck with some Boore or souldier, to conveigh over one of those boates unto the King. The Leiftenant performs his charge to the purpose; but being afterwards discovered by his long coare, was apprehended for a spye, and made a prisoner: whence

whence at the taking of the Castle he was redeemed. The King having thus procured one boate ; sends men in that to bring over more : by which at last he set over as many soldiers as he pleased. *Keller* the Governour was ready at the foot of the hill, to entertaine them: for faine would he haue staved them off there , and have kept the *Scottish* led by Sir *James Ramsye* and Sir *John Hamilton*, from comming neerer. Here beganne the first skirmish , which indeed proved but a skirmish : the defendants being after a while beaten up the hill unto a great *Halfe-Moone* they had before the Castle ; where the *Scottish* for that night gave it over. Keeping that footing, therefore, which they had the first day gotten upon the climbe of the hill ; they under favour of that, brought forward their owne trenches neerer still and neerer to the Bulwark. All that night and the two next dayes, did the Ordnance thunder from the Castle; & for as long a time were the garrison kept in continuall action and Alarmes : a besieged enemy being like an *un-made hawke*, to be *reclaymd* with *watching*. The *Trenches* or *Lines*. being finished, the King commaunds Sir *John Hamilton* The valour
and Sir *James Ramsye* to fall on with their Regiments: for if a *Halfe-moone* the Scottish
Foit be to be stormed, or any desperate peice of service to be
set upon; the *Scottish* have hitherto had the honour and the
danger, to be the first men that are put upon such a businesse. *Lines* therefore upon the vineyards side, right before the bridge (which was over the moate of the Castle) doe the *Scottish* now fall resoluteely fall upon: the defendants likewise for two houres together (as 'tis said) as stoutly fighting for their worke. Here was Sir *James Ramsye* shot in the arme: and very many of his , and of Sir *John Hamiltons* men, slaine and spoyled in the assault: but they by fine force at length prevailing, drove the defendants to the retreat. The King had thought at the same time to have possessed himselfe of the Castle-bridge of stone aforesaid; and of the Port consequent-ly, that it led unto : commanding other of his men for that purpose into the very *Graff* or *moare* it selfe: but from that designe were they for that time put off, by the defendants. By

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five a clocke the next morning, (Saturday, October 8.) was there a generall assault attempted: at which time a certaine Lieutenant of *Leifland*, (borne of *Scottish* parents) comming in the darke (with onely 7. men at that instant behind him) unto the draw-bridge that entered into the *Forehoff* or outer-court of the Castle, and being over-heard by those that had the guards on the inside (who were neere upon 200. men) was by one of them demaunded in the forme usuall among souldiers, *Was vor volcks? What are you for men?* *Swedes*, cryes the Lieutenant. The enemies hearing this, presently lay hold upon the chaynes to hale up the draw-bridge: which the Lieutenant perceiving them about, with a strange courage and resolution leapes lightly upon the bridge and his 7. men after him; keeping it downe by that meanes. Those within now verily imagining all the *Swedish* to be already at the bridge, most basely runne away into the Castle: of which the *Swedish* by this time having notice, presently enter into the *Forehoff*, even close unto the Castle. And here (as tis written) does the mercifull King once againe offer faire conditions, upto as many as would lay down arms: but this being refused, and the Cannon all this while thundering against his men; the King causes the Ordnance which he even now found upon the conquered Bulwarks, to be turned upon the inner gate, which leades into the very Castle it selfe: which hee presently therewithall breakes open. Sir *John Hamilton* having done so much good service before, is now againe as ready to fall into the Castle: but from this the King cald him off: pretending the preservation of his men, which had beene so shattered in the former service. But the valiant Colonell made another interpretation of the Kings meaning. The *Swedish* now thronging in amaine thorow the broken gate, utterly there overlay the defendants. And now began the execution; and now the conquered begin to cry for *Quarter*: but the enraged *Swedens* yet in the heate of blood, bid them looke for no other *Quarter*, then what the Protestants found at *Magdenburg*. All that resisted, suffered. Among the dead, were there some skore of lusty sturdy

Fryers

Fryers found armed: who had their crownes (poore men) new-shaven with a sword, in stead of a razor: and receiving here their *ultimum tonsuram*, had no other complement of Anointing to it, but that of their owne bloods. *The sword devoureth one, as well as another*, said that famous Generall of old: nor had these men dyed amisse, had it bin in defence onely of their Prince and Country; and not upon an *erroneous Conscience* of their Religion: and an over-bold conceit of *Merit* and of *Martyrdome*. Divers of the garrison leaping over the rampiers into the vineyards, mended themselues no better by it then other runne-awayes usually doe; to be kild further off from their fellowes. The Ladyes, Nunnes, and women, were safely sent into the towne. The Governour (as 'tis said) saved his owne life, by begging it at the Kings feete: the obtaining of which favour, might perchance make him to love a Protestant the better, ever after. A Rit-master (or Captaine of a troope of Horse) there was, that redeemed his owne life, with a Kings ransome: by shewing, namely, an inestimable masse of treasure, which lay hid in a Cave or cleft of the Rocke. The chiefe of the slaine and prisoners, were rifled and stripped by the conquerors: and the Castle for one hour, permitted to the pillage: where an unvaluable booty was obtained by the souldiers. Here was found about 34. peices of brasie Ordnance; some of which had the *Palsgrave Fredericks* Armes upon them. Many a hundred wayne-load of wine there was: with Ammunition, and some kind of victuals for the Bishops Court, enough (if it would have kept) for 20. yeeres provision for such a garrison. Some 200. of the *Swedish* lost their lives upon the service: all the defendants being either slaine or taken prisoners.

The booty.

The Generall *Tilly* hearing of this siege, was comming as farre as *Fulda* to have raised it; (as it was given out:) but hearing it to be taken; he made the more haste to reenforce himselfe by ioyning with the *Lorrayners*. And thus was this goodly, rich, strong, and pleasant Castle of *Wurzburg* taken in, by eight a clocke on Saturday morning, being the eighth of

of October: as which, the King yet never came to so rich a breakfast. A Palace it was, for any Prince in Christendome: which having beeene something defaced by the Cannon, the King caused to be forthwith repaired; and with new fortifications to be made much the stronger. The towne redeemed it selfe from pillaging, by the payment of 4. tunne of Gold; or of 300.000. *Florens*, as others reckon it: So that the King and his souldiers, never went so rich away from any place. Here was found a princely stable of goodly horses; with which the King was very much delighted. And here his Maiesy stayed, till the beginning of November: in which time he also caused himselfe to be invested Duke of *Franconia*; taking an oath of *homage and fealty*, both of towne and Countrey. In iustification of which proceedinge of his, he upon Octob. 26. publishes his *Declaration or Manifesto*: which for the Readers ease we have here abbreviated.

That seeing his owne comming last yeere into the Empire, had beeene for the relieving of the oppressed *Protestant* Princes of *Germany*, and that God had so farre already, bey ond his owne power, and all humane expectation, blessed him therein; as that having first of all cleared the two *Duchies of Pomerania* and *Mecklenburg*, together with the Electorate of *Brandenburg*; and at the earnest request of the Duke of *Saxony* afterwards, obtained that memorable victory of *Leipsich*: he had thought that even the enemies would have acknowledged the hand of God to have beeene with him; and that the *Catholike* Princes of the *League* would have not onely beeene defiers, but promoters too of a faire peace, for the good of their owne native Countrey. But whereas he now perceived, that notwithstanding it had in the late *Diet of Ratisbone* beeene acknowledged, how the warre made against him in *Germany* by the Emperor, was without the knowledge, and against the will of the Princes and Electors; yea quite against the lawes and priviledges of the Empire: yet did the *Catholike Leaguers* for all this, still goe on in their pernicious Combinations against him; yea even after they had by their owne letters,

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(oftrier then once) avowed themselues to become his firme friends ; and that he thereupon had passed his promise vnto the *French* King, that would they but sit downe as *Neuters*, he would offer no injury at all vnto them. And whereas he had pursued the victory of *Leipsich* with no other purpose, then of bringing the disturbers of the peace vnto equall tearms and Conditions; and had before the bringing of his army into *Franconia*, both fairely and timely signified that his purpose vnto the two Bishops of *Bamberg* and *Wurzburg*; with desire of a friendly treatment from them againe. Now, when as these his offers had beene despised, and his messengers answered from the Bishop of *Wurzburg* with the mouth of the Cannon : had he not reason to mend himselfe vpon his Country, and to take his Castle from him ? Whereas, againe, he had both opportunity and power put into his hands of serving their subiects as hardly, as the hamelesse *Protestants* had otherwhere beene used by the *Leaguers*: yet, his Princely mind much despising all desire of reuenge, had onely disposed it selfe to the meanes of establishing a good peace once againe throughout the Empire. That he at this time found the greatest part of the Bishoprick of *Wurzburg* and Dukedom of *Franconia*, not bound by oath vnto any Master; and that those subiects that had beene obliged, were now without cause forsaken by Bishop *Francis*; who had the meanes yet left, of fairely compounding with him. Therefore was he now ready (as necessity required) to take the Country and people into his care, and to re-estate them all againe into as good a Condition as he could : having for that purpose lately set forth a forme of government for them, and appointed fit Officers over them. Wherefore, his Maiesties expresse pleasure at this time was, That all Officers and Burgers should, upon the first notice given them of this *Mandate* of his, repaire vnto the place appointed them in it, take oath there, unto that his forme of government, and dutifullly hereafter to obey it. Vpon hope, therefore, that so they would doe, he would graciously from hence forward take them into his protection, permit

For that the Bishop was but newly elected; and not completely per- chance as yet established : and that the Nobility and Gentry of *Franconia* (very great) acknowledgeth no su- periors, as be- ing only subiect to the Empire.

liberty of Conscience vnto them, and by his Judges appointed for that end, maintaine them in all their severall lawes and priuiledges. Those that humbly sued for his help, should graciously have it: and those that neglected or despised, he would execute the law upon.

Whilst here at *Wurzburg* the King stayes, some forces of his newly levied for him about the Country, were come to *Carlstat*, the place appointed for their meeting. *Tilly* then upon the wing; feared it might be, that because he was not able to relieve *Wurzburg*, yet for that he would not doe nothing, he would have a flight at these rawe souldiers: and newes was brought, that some of his were even then come as neere *Carlstat*, as the *Neustat* and *Rosenfels* (in the *Speshart* forest on the other side of the *Mayn*) towards them. Of this the King having notice, towards the end of October goes from *Wurzburg* thitherward, with some 33 Cornets of horse in his attendance. But *Tilly* came not.

Tilly first appears neere the King.

Some new forces railed for the King.

Werthaim taken

3000. of *Tillyes* men beaten.

men beaten. *Tauber* called the *Tauber-ground*, dresseth there a double Ambuscado

Some troopes of his, had before this beene dispatched also towards *Werthaim* in the little County of the same name, belonging vnto the Counts of *Loewenstein*; bearing due West of *Wurzburg* upon another Bowte of the *Mayn*, where the *Tauber* falls into it. The towne was kept by the Italian Colonel *Piccolomini*, who had beene at the battell of *Leipsich*. He now issuing out of the towne, and making there the best resistance that he could; had all his men that escaped not by flight, either slaine upon the place, or carried away prisoners. The King caused 14. Companies of his owne men to be put into the towne; of whom the Generall *Tilly* having a mind to be revenged, upon Sunday morning, October 16. sends some 3000 horse and foote out of his owne head-quarter (then neere vnto *Selingstat* and *Babenhausen* beyond the *Mayn*) to make an *Anslaught* or Enterprise upon the place. The King having an *Item* also of this match, sends against the time appointed some of his men to lye in waite by the way for these *Tillyans*. The *Swedes* comming to a valley upon the *Tauber* called the *Tauber-ground*, dresseth there a double Ambuscado

buscado for the enemy. The Goverour of the towne had likewise his directions to leave the place, and to retreat in good time, if he should perceive the enemies to be too strong for him. But before it came to that, the *Tillians* were already fallen into the ambush: whence they gate not out, but with the losse of 2700 men, 800 horses, 14 Ensignes and Cornets, 10 Sumpter Mules, and all their baggage: which together with the armes and pillage of the dead, helpt to pay the *Swedish* for thus beating of them.

About October 21. old Style; others of the Kings troopes flye out as farre as *Rottenburg*; an Imperiall towne neere the head of the river *Tauber*, some 8 or 9 leagues to the South of *Wurzburg*. Hither had the Imperiall *Commissary Masen* (a great Officer) either fled or retyred from the *Swedish*: and yet here could he not be long safe from them. The towne and he being both in danger, *Tilly* for their sakes sends out 3 of his Regiments to oppose the *Swedish*: but the fortune of the warres now altogether unlucky for the *Tillians*; their 3 whole Regiments are either wholly rowted or slaughtered. The towne garrison perceiving this defeate, fall presently into mutinie against the Commissary, whose office was to pay them their wages: so that he now being for some while behind hand with them for their meanes, *Gelt, Gelt, money, money, money*, they now beginne to cry; and tearing the Ensignes from off the staves, they immediately let open the gates unto the *Swedes*; the most of them also entring themselues into the Kings service. Much about this time too, some *Swedish* forces in another place lighting upon a Partee of 3 troopes of *Lorrainers*, take away two Cornets, and bring home a Ser-² Cornets of geant-Major prisoner with them. How these *Lorrainers* came there, see the whole progresse of their army, which was new- ly come into *Germany* against the King; in our particular Story of them.

Now were the *Swedish* in severall small running Armies, dispersed at once over the Countrey. Some of them for very feare drive the Imperialists out of *Nordlingen* (an Imperiall

3. Regiments
more of *Tillians*
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sary *Wolffstein* then at *Munchen* in *Bavaria*. Now whereas the
Convoy of 100 horse and as many muskettiers, were gone a
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Those neerer home, after the taking of *Rottenburg*, surprize
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towards *Franckford*, then goes he with all speed and blocks up *Norimberg*. But God now became the Kings Counsellor; He presently helpt him out of this doubt. The *Norimbergers* having beene sollicited by the King, now send their Ambassadors to accord with him: so that to *Norimberg* now, he need not goe. But how should he get to *Franckford*? The mighty strong City of *Hanaw* lay full in his way, and was the passe to *Franckford*: yea and *Tilly* with his whole Army lay now also about *Hanaw*. There is no leauing of an enemy behind ones backe; so that though *Tilly* were out of the way, yet must *Hanaw* first be had, or else no comming at *Franckford*. And to increase the difficulty of getting of *Hanaw* time enough to serve his turne; was the great strength of the place first: upon which had the City formerly beene so confident, that having had some differences with the Emperor, it would never (as the proverb is) give him a good word; yea when some 3 yeeres since one of his Leiftenants had blockt it up, he was faine after 17 weekes to rise and goe without it. The second difficulty was, that the enemy had a party already within the City: 6 companies of Imperiall souldiers (some 1200 in all) and *Brandeis* that commanded them in chiefe, had even already laid the plot with *Tilly*, for the sudden surprising of it. The Kings haste and manner of warfaring, is not to lye long at a siege: *Hanaw*, therefore, which it was thus difficult to conquer by strength, was by private friendship all on the sudden made his; and the slow enemy (now standing betwixt wooing and forcing it,) had his nose wypt of it. The Duke of *Saxon-Lawenburg*, first of all presses the City to take in more forces of the Emperors: and *Tilly* is earnest to have 4. Companies (into which he would have put 1000 men) taken into the towne. This being denied, threatnings are added: and because the way of force would of it selfe be too tedious; and in the King of *Sweden*s neerenesse, no lesse dangerous: *Brandeis* the Captaine is practised withall, to let *Tilly* by night into the City. *Philip Lodowick*, Earle of *Hanaw* (a Protestant) being not ignorant of all this; and even now also angred with *Tilly* for

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His Maiesy of *Sweden* is all this moneth of October in *Wurzburg* for the most part, though at *Carlsbad* now and then with the new Army. You may perceive that he sent to take in the townes upon the *Mayn*; both those that lye upon it Eastward towards *Norimberg*, and those Westward too, towards *Franckford*. Both these great Cities were Passes of mighty importance: and the *Catholike Leaguers* had lands both wayes; the *Temporall* Princes lay mostly towards *Norimberg*, and the three Spirituall Electors lay all beyond *Franckford*. So that much deliberation had the King with himselfe, to which of these two places he should first turne his Armies: both being (upon the point) now equally almost distant from him. The importance of these two Passes very well appeares by *Tilly* also: who when he supposed the King likely to goe towards *Norimberg*, then turnes he downe towards *Hanaw* and *Franckford*, and sollicites them to take in his garrisons: but when againe he perceived the King making

towards

towards *Franckford*, then goes he with all speed and blocks up *Norimberg*. But God now became the Kings Counsellor; He presently helpt him out of this doubt. The *Norimbergers* having beene sollicited by the King, now send their Ambassadors to accord with him: so that to *Norimberg* now, he need not goe. But how should he get to *Franckford*? The mighty strong City of *Hanaw* lay full in his way, and was the passe to *Franckford*: yea and *Tilly* with his whole Army lay now also about *Hanaw*. There is no leauing of an enemy behind ones backe; so that though *Tilly* were out of the way, yet must *Hanaw* first be had, or else no comming at *Franckford*. And to increase the difficulty of getting of *Hanaw* time enough to serve his turne; was the great strength of the place first: upon which had the City formerly beene so confident, that having had some differences with the Emperor, it would never (as the proverb is), give him a good word; yea when some 3 yeeres since one of his Leiftenants had blockt it up, he was faine after 17 weekes to rise and goe without it. The second difficulty was, that the enemy had a party already within the City: 6 companies of Imperiall souldiers (some 1200 in all) and *Brandes* that commanded them in chiefe, had even already laid the plot with *Tilly*, for the sudden surprising of it. The Kings haste and manner of warfaring, is not to lye long at a siege: *Hanaw*, therefore, which it was thus difficult to conquer by strength, was by private friendship all on the sudden made his; and the slow enemy (now standing betwixt wooing and forcing it,) had his nose wypt of it. The Duke of *Saxon-Lawenburg*, first of all presses the City to take in more forces of the Emperors: and *Tilly* is earnest to haue 4. Companies (into which he would have put 1000 men) taken into the towne. This being denied, threatnings are added: and because the way of force would of it selfe be too tedious; and in the King of *Sweden*s neerenesse, no lesse dangerous: *Brandes* the Captaine is practised withall, to let *Tilly* by night into the City. *Philip Lodowick*, Earle of *Hanaw* (a Protestant) being not ignorant of all this; and even now also angred with *Tilly*

for taking of the towne and Castle of Babenhausen, (a neighbour towne belonging unto the Earles of Hanaw Buxviller, but empawned vnto him:) privately sends vnto the King of Sweden, That he could be content to have his towne handsomely surprized by his Majesty, rather then by *Tilly*; so that if he would send upon such a night, he should have the Castle gate set open for him.

This faire City of Hanaw being seated upon a levell, (and therefore strong) hath the small river of *Kintz* running thorow it; and the great river *Mayn* within a quarter of an houres going of it; into which a little from this towne the *Kintz* falleth. It is devided into the *Old*, and *New* townes. In the *Old*, (in which was the Earles Castle) were there two Companies of Imperiall souldiers; and foure more in the *New*: in all, some 1200. The Generall *Tilly* with his whole Army, lay also about *Aschaffenburg*, *Selingstat*, and *Steinheim*, on either side of the *Mayn*: who by the intelligence held with *Brandeis*, expected within 3 or 4 nights after, to be let into the towne: or if that plot failed, to have assaulted it without, whilst *Brandeis* should both by force and stratageme, have exercised and amuzed the Burgers within. All this was by the Earles and the Kings diligence thus defeated.

Vpon Munday the last of October, is *Christopher Hauball* one of the Kings Colonels, (a wise and valiant Gentleman) employed upon the *Anslaught*. His forces were some 600 chosen horsemen and dragoones, and no more; whatsoever *Gallobelgicus* writes. With these, he in one day and nights continuall flying march, hastens from *Carlstat* vnto Hanaw; the 2 townes being full 12 common Germane leagues distant; each league, here and throughout the story, meant to be foure English miles: with these was he by foure or five a clocke upon Tuesday morning, November 1. 1631. gotten to the gates of Hanaw, or ever his enemies dreamt of it. His way to come at the towne, was thorow the wood that is beyond the *Kintz*: in which wood hewing downe poasts; he by pitching them on either side the narrow river, and by fastning two roapes

roapes to them, and laying boords and rafters over these roapes; both silently and suddenly passed over the water. Comming to the Castle gate next unto the *Kintz*, he hath that by the Earles direction (upon the watchword given) immediately opened vnto him, by which he enters into the *Old Towne*. The first worke he did, was to clap to the gate that led out of the *Old towne* into the *New*; by which meanes those of the *New towne* were barred out, from ayding their neighbours of the *Old City*. The *Swedish* foote getting up presently to the top of the wals or Bulwarks, runne immediately two severall wayes at once, to make themselues masters of the other two gates on either hand of the Castle gate: those three, being all the ports that belong to the *Old Towne*. The horse-men at the same time possessing themselues of the market place, hinder thereby the townsmen from gathering to a head: by which meanes was the whole towne (both within and without) in a trice assured vnto them. The two Companies of Imperiall souldiers, being thus taken sleepers, could not so soone get themselues armed: and some of the Burgers (that had not beene made acquainted with the plot) now taking the Alarne and offering to resist, have some 8 of their company slaughtered. The *Swedish* upon the walles, runne every way up and downe, shooting at randome in the darke; to fright thereby whosoever should adventure to come neere them. The Earle of *Hanaw* also, (whose Countesse lay in at the same time) is presently taken prisoner, and a guard set upon his Castle and person. This was done in a seeming good earnest, to put off all suspition of a plot, from him.

By that time it was towards day-light, were the 4 Companies in the *New towne* up in armes also, though they all this while had attempted nothing for the reskue of the *Old City*. Said it was, that *Brandes* went merry to bed the night before; and that when being awakt by five in the morning, he was by one of the Burgers told of the *Swedes* being in the *Old Towne*; he was so farre from beleeving it, as he forbade the Alarne to be sounded. And when one of his own Officers a little

little after that, told him the same tale; They are not the *Swedes*, saith he, they be our own friends of *A schaffen burg*, for whom I wrote yesterday: not suffering the *Alarne* to be strooke up yet. But when he by breake of day perceived his error; The *Swedes* be divels (quoth he,) how was it possible for them so soone to get in hither? Starting up presently thereupon, and all vbuttoned as he was, out comes he into the street; running for life up and downe; and even till he swet againe in that frosty morning, to set on his men. Two thousand armed men (what with souldiers, Boores and Burgers) had he by day-light gotten together: which *Hanbald* now perceiving, drawes his *Swedes* along upon the wall that lookes into the New towne; whence both with Pistols and Carbines, he lets flye amongst them: by which, two men and one woman were slaine out-right, and some others wounded. By this time had the *Swedes* brought a small peece of Ordnance to the place; which they also bending upon the New Towne, demanded them to yeeld immediately. The Citizens answered resolutely, That they would not yeeld up the towne, till they had their Princes consent first. *Hanbald* at first denies it, telling them that he was their Earle. They demaund it againe, telling him that till then, they had nothing but bullets for him. The Earle hereupon being brought with a guard about him, upon the wall; tells them, That he being now a prisoner, could give them no better counsell, then to yeeld upon as good termes as they could get. This mov'd not *Captaine Brandeis* any thing: but first would he have had the Burgers to have gone on against the *Swedes*: which they bidding him doe himselfe first, he durst not. Then would he have had the Ordnance brought downe thither from the walls, and discharged upon the *Swedes*: but neither would the *Burgers* suffer that, for feare of spoyling their friends and friends houses in the Old Towne. Then would he have sent one of his own servants over the towne ditch, to have runne to *Steinheim*: whereabouts Colonel *Eynor* had some good forces: but this is also crossed by the Citizens; for that it would have brought

Tillyes

Tillyes whole Army upon them; which lying hard by it at that time, might have endangered the plundering of the whole City. A iust feare: seeing *Tilly* might very lawfully have done it; as having reskued the City from his enemy. *Haubald* once againe demanding up the towne, and that presently; is answred, That the Magistrates could not so soone come together to consult upon it. He grants them halfe an houre, thereupon: meane while his men gave over shooting. Full three houres after it was, ere the townsmen had resolved: which done, (the towne continuing still in armes) about 11 a clocke, is the Major of the City, and *Daniel De Latre* (one of the chiefe Aldermen or Magistrates) sent to parlee with the *Swedish* Colonel. *Haubald* now meeting them betweene the two gates of the *Old Towne*, tells them that he had nothing to say against the Burgers: and if they pleased to retire peaceably, let him alone with the souldiers. Here after a while is the yelding concluded upon.

Captaine *Brandeis* seeing now no remedy, desires for himself and for his men, that they might have souldiers conditiions; and goe out with full Armes, &c. No (saies *Haubald*) your selfe with all your Officers and souldiers in the towne, shall immediately repaire unto the gallowes before the gate betweene the two townes, trayle your Armes and Ensignes thither, lay them downe there, and absolutely submit your selues unto my pleasure; either for life or death, favour, or not favour. That which cannot be resisted, should not be refusid: they lay downe Armes, and *Haubald* in courtesie returns them their swords againe. Thus their Colours being gone, their military oath unto the Emperor was by this meanes void; which *Haubald* taking advantage of, invites them into his pay: of which all save thirty or forty (that were more *Poppis* then the rest) presently accepted. *Brandeis* the Captaine refusing, is made prisoner: and so is *Merci*, Sergeant-Major unto *Piccolomini*; two Ritt-masters, with divers of *Tillyes* Commanders more; who had retired into that Towne to be healed of their wounds received at the battell of *Leipsich*. *Brandeis*

deis was kept in his own house, vnder a guard of some 5 or 6. souldiers: the rest had the liberty of the towne, but not to goe without the Ports.

Hanbald having thus mastered the Towne by his valour; provides to keepe it by his wisedome. First sends he two Companies into the Castle: then takes he order for some new Fortifications ; of which , himselfe being a skilfull Enginier, drawes the Platforme. Next layes he out to have 5 or 6 new Companies raised ; which were made up of those that had lately yeelded, and some others gotten out of the Country : Casting about in the last place , how to have all these maintained. For this last purpose, no sooner was *Tilly* gone out of the Countrey (which he did presently after he saw himselfe defeated of his hopes, both of this towne and *Franckford*) but that *Hanbald* dispeedes about his letters (in a stile imperious enough) vnto his amazed neighbours of the land of *Darmstat*, and the *Wetteraw*; as also to the Townes of *Steinheim*, *Selingstat*, *Dieburg*, *Hoeft*, *Konigstein*, *Orb*, *Hansen* and others, belonging partly unto the Elector of *Mentz* , and partly unto other Lords : That without denyall or delay, they bring unto him into *Hanaw*, all the Contribution money, corne, hay, and oates , which they had before paid unto the *Catholike League*; and that they never hereafter either pay or aide, the enemies of the King his Master. They that did otherwise, should heare from him in another kind.

And thus was this faire City of *Hanaw*, handsomely surprised by this quick-spirited Colonell : even before *Tillyes* owne nose (as we say) who was but newly passed the *Mayn*. His army lay at that very time, in all the neighbour Countries thereabouts. Some of them were yet in the land of *Darmstat*; others were advanced further , even as farre into the *BergStraes*, as right against *Oppenheim* in the *Palatinate*: into which Countrey verily beleeved it was , that he would now have gone; and there have stayed for the defence of it. Others of his were gotten up to *Franckford*: which Imperiall City he mainly sollicited to accept of a garrison from him: which be-
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ing denied, was one of the mainest reasons, that hee stayd not in the *Palatinate*: which indeede he could not safely doe, unlesse that City were either *Friend* or *Neuter* to him.

The Generall *Tilly* now perceiving by the taking of *Ha-* Tilly returns *now*, that the King of *Swedens* purpose was to drive down wards Fräcoi the *Mayn* into those quarters: and that, seeing there were many Protestant Princes thereabouts, others were likely enough to doe as the Count of *Hanaw* had: he immedately turning faces about, marches directly backe into *Franconia*. Without ever crossing of the *Mayn*, therefore; first of all towards *Miltenburg* and *Bishofsheim* he goes; whereabouts the *Lorrain* army yet was. The towne of *Mergentheim* he takes in againe Taking in by the way; the *Swedish* being retired. From hence he goes directly on to *Oxenfurt*; a pretty towne upon an *Elbow* or *Bow* of the *Mayn*, some three or foure leagues to the South of *Wurzburg*. Of the taking of this towne by the Kings forces in the beginning of *October*, we have before told you. It was Sir *John Hebron* that had done it; and who yet kept it, though with weake forces. The King fearing *Tillyes* falling upon this towne (which the standing made to be a Passe of some importance) comes with all speed himselfe in person thither. Against the Count of *Tillyes* comming (which was and going to with his whole Army) had Sir *John Hebron* laid his *Out-* Oxenfurt whc guards about the towne. *Scottish* men they were of *Colonell* the King *Lumsdell's* Regiment; and some 6 Rotts, or 36 Muskettiers there were of them; and those (while *Leiftenant-Colonell* *Muschamp* commanded the rest of the Regiment within the Towne) now led by *Sergeant-Major* *Monipenny*. These 36 giving a salvee or volly of shot unto that *Partee*, which *Tilly* had ordered should first fall on upon the Towne. Hee by this perceiving their readinesse and resolution for defence; and imagining the garrison to be much stronger then indeed it was; immedately turnes faces about to the right, and marches directly towards *Norimberg*: before which we shall next find him sitting, upon Novemb. 18. following. Of which,

and of what else may concerne our story, we shall speake more, in our Relation of the Generall *Tillyes* particular proceedings. Had the Count of *Tilly* then knowne the King to have bin in *Oxenfurt*, and how weake the place was; he would not, I suppose, have bin so soon frighted awav. And had he falleon with his whole Army, the King was in the mind to have quitted the place, and to haue retired over the bridge into *Wurzburg* againe. But his enemy never staid to put him to it.

The Generall *Tilly* being thus parted from the King, upon whose motions he seemed hitherto (though at a safe distance) to have waited; the King of *Sweden* now leaving *Gustavus Horne* with part of the army in *Franconia*, to looke there unto the Bishop of *Bamberg*, Commissary *Offa*, and the Generall *Tilly*; and to settle some orders withall in the new conquered places: and the Generall *Banier* being before dis-

patched with other forces towards *Magdenburg*; (of all
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which we shall tell you in their due places,) the King with the rest of his Army now sets forward towards *Hanaw*. The forces he at this time brought with him, were but five *Brigades* of Foote, besides some of Generall *Baniers* *Regiment*, which were afterward left at *Achaffenburg*. There ought to be 1800 men in every *Brigade*: but these of the Kings, were not (I beleive) so compleat now. Severall peeces of broken, and not yet *Recruited* or *Reinforced* *Regiments* with their Colonells, were put into one *Brigade*. These *Brigades* of the Kings, had their names from the chiefeſt *Colours* belonging to the eldest Colonell of the *Brigade*. There were but five of them now: and these they were. First, the *Life-Regiment*, or the *Guards* for the Kings owne body; commanded ever ſince Baron *Dyvels* death, by *Grave Needles*, a *Swede*. Secondly, the *Greene* *Regiment*; led by *Sir John Hepburn* (usually called *Hebron*) a *Scottiſh* Gentleman, and the eldest Colonell. Thirdly, The *Blue* *Regiment*, whereof *Winckle* is Colonell. Fourthly, the *White* *Regiment*, conducted by Colonell *Vitzthimb*: and fiftly, the *Red* *Regiment*, whereof Colonell *Hogendorff* hath the leading. Amongſt all these,

these, were there but few (scarce any) naturall borne *Swedes* : those were gone otherwhere with *Gustavus Horne* and Generall *B. niel*. His Horse (which he had well encreased since the Battel of *Leipsich*) might be some 4000 : or something more perchance. And that he had no greater Ar- my then this at his comming towards the *Palatinate*, was plainly to bee sene at his passing thorow *Franckeford*: where were told but 74 Ensignes of Foote, and 71 Cornets *Hall* of Horse. So that allowing a full 100 to every Foote Company, and 60 to every troope of Horse (which is good allowance to so shatterd an Army) you will not find above 7500 Foote, and 4000 Horse at the most: *Scanderbeg* never desired above 9000 men in one Army : and these are the numbers with which *Gustavus Adolphus* enforced the *Catholick Leaguers*, to desire either *Peace* or *Neutrality* of him.

And with these few forces, but great strength; his Maje- sty sets forward towards *Hanaw* : for whose entertainement, *Haubald* was now providing of the Castle. About some two dayes after the first taking whereof, and whilst *Tillyes* army was yet thereabouts : two troopes of his horse shew themselves before the Towne : amongst whom *Haubald* letting flye his ordnance ; they immediately retyred. Some five dayes after that (November eighth in the night time) the Imperiall garrison of *Steinheim* Castle, (which is about three quarters of an houres march from *Hanaw*) begin to cast up the earth and to erect a Skonce-worke, just upon the Chanells side, which was cut out of the River *Mayn*, to carry smaller vessels up to *Hanaw*. Their purpose was, to hinder the *Hanaw* boates, and the *Swedes* from comming in them, to assayle their Castle. Against this worke of theirs, *Haubald* the next day raises up two Brestworkes, in the two Church-yards belonging unto the *Old Towne*. One worke, was at the corner of the Chanel ; and the other at that Angle, where the *Kintz* falleth into the *Mayn*. Into these he brings three peeces of ordnance, two into one, and one into the other. Betweene these workes, fell there out a skirmish for

three howers together: but *Haubalds* ordnance driving out the Imperialists at the last, falls with his men into their worke, halfe demolishes it, and so leaves it. The Imperialists being desirous to renew their worke, but loth to come under the Command of *Haubalds* ordnance in his two brest workes; devise to come into their owne Fort againe, underground and by myning. Their working might easily be discernd from the walls of *Hanaw*: and sure they would have brought it to perfection; had they not beeene made to give it over by the Kings comming, within some few dayes after.

His Majesty having by this time shipt his carriages downe the *Mayn*, and devided his forces on either banke of it (himselfe in person marching on the Southern side) comes all along in this manner. And that he might lose no time, and drive the Countrey withall before him; hee takes in *Proceland*, *Miltenburg*, *Klingenborg*, and *Trenfelt* by the way, some being on one side of the River, and some upon the other. At *Aschaffenburg* (or *Aschiburg*) upon the Northern banke of the River, hath the Elector of *Mentz* a very stately Palace, where hee mostly used to reside. The place was kept by one Regiment of *Tillyans*, and two of the Electors owne Regiments of Traine bands: all which by night quitting the place, the King puts in *Baniers* Regiment for the keeping of it.

There passes he the bridge, unto his army on the other side of the River. Those of his men that still kept the Southern shoare, fall upon *Steinhem* aforesaid. This Towne is indeed but a Dorp; the Castle was the strength of it; and that had a garrison of 850 in it, which having beeene soundly rattled with foure peeces of Cannon on the evening of November 14. 600 of the 850 yeeld it the next day unto the Kings Soldiours, and themselves into his Majesties service. The other 250 that refused, were upon the agreement conducted by the *Swedes* unto the *Franckfurder-waldt*, a league or two to the West of them. This Castle does the King bestow upon

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upon the Earle of *Hanaws* Mother : unto whose family , it had formerly belonged. This Earle stood alwayes firme after this, unto the Kings party : levying Soldiours for his service afterwards, with which he tooke in *Drusenheim* and other townes about *Strasburg* and *Hagenaw* for the King, in January following ; the first of which the King also bestowed upon him. He put himselfe at the very first, into the Kings protection, among the seventeen *Lords of the Weterau* : he followed the Court at *Mentz* , all the Christmas after ; where in a *Masquerade* ; he was one of the *Maskers* together with the King. All which shewes some good service he had privately done ; which obtained so good a degree in his Maiesties favour and familiarity. And that the other side also understood the correspondency which the Count held with the King, about his giving way to the surprising of *Hanaw* ; appears by *Tillyes* taking the Towne of *Babenhausen* from him.

November 15. after *Steinheim* was taken, the King makes The King go his entrance into *Hanaw* : unto which towne he would suffer thorow *Hanaw* his Army to be no further troublesome , then by staying to suppe in it. That very evening does his Maiestie set forward againe towards *Franckford* ; which was to be the chiefeast Passe to all his future great actions, in those quarters. About 12 at night towards *Offenbach* (neere *Franckford*) he goes, a league and a halfe from *Hanaw* , where his lodging was provided for him in the Castle : which having anciently belonged unto the Counts of *Isenburg* , had beene taken from them of late by the Bishop of *Mentz* . Here at *Offenbach* he staid all the day, October 16. the cause being, for that heretofore having had some parly with the Deputies of the Common-wealth of *Franckford* , which had before beene with him upon the way ; and that the Count of *Solms* had now beene some 3 dayes since sent from himselfe unto them ; he here expected their answer. The Kings message was, Whether the City for setting forwards the cause of the *Gospell* , would peaceably and spee- His demands to those of *Franckford*. dily set open their gates unto him, accept fairely of his gar- rison

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rison; or stand to the hazzard of a siege? loth was the Towne to yeeld: and yet fearefull were the Townes-men to resist: so that their Poasts which passed to and againe, (in which were some 2 or 3 dayes spent) ever bringing one and the same resolution from the King; their deputies are faine, after dinner on the same 16 of Novemb. to come to *Offenbach* Castle, and to consent there, unto these three propositions.

1. That the King should have free passage for his Army thorow their City, to and againe.
2. That for the Kings better assurance of the City, 600 of his men should be receiued for garrison into *Saxenhansen*; (which is the strong Suburbs to the City, lying on the other side of the water.)
3. That both Magistrates and people should take an oath unto his Majesty.

And thus was this faire Imperiall City of *Franckford on the Maine* gained to the Kings party, by good words, and the sight onely of an Army. The next day being Thursday, November 17, the Kings Army passing thorow *Saxenhansen* ouer the bridge: marches quite thorow the City, and so out at the gate of *Bockenheim* againe. There were told fifty

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sixe peeces of Cannon: sevnty foure Ensignes of Foote; forty five Cornets of Horfe; twenty sixe Cornets more, the next day likewise following after. Such fayre order was kept by the soldiours in their passing along, that no man complained of injury: and whereas two of them onely flew out into the high-way, they had martiall law presently, and were hanged for it. And as little complaint was there of the garrison in the Suburbs, whereof Colonell *Vitzthimb* (a very able Gentleman, for such a purpose) was left Gover-nour. The King himselfe rode bareheaded thorow the streets; who with the comelinesse of a Majesticall personage, and the courtesie of a gracious behaviour; generally attracted the beholders affections towards him. He staid not long in it, but taking leave of the *Nobility* and *Gentry* of the Country, that came to see and waite upon him; he went to his lodgning

at

at *Nidda*, to be the neerer unto his Army. His men by tenne a clocke the same night were set downe to the siege of *Hoest*: a good towne belonging unto the Elector of *Mentz*, and about a league from *Franckford*. This is the towne, where, upon Whitsun-Munday 1621. the Generall *Tilly* overthrew the late Duke of *Brunswike*. November 19 the garrison of *Hoest* being above 400 men, deliver the place unto the King: unto which their own feares, and the townsmens perswasions had ioynly drawne them; these being doubtfull of the plunderring of their houses. The King having put divers Companies there over on the other side the *Main*, (for all marcht not thorow *Franckford*) presently filled the next smaller townes by the *Rhine*, with his forces. Hoest taken.

The next day being Sunday, Novemb. 20. his Maiestie returns into *Franckford* againe, bringing the two Landtgraves of *Hessen* along with him: one of *Hessen-Cassel*, which is the elder family, and usually called *Landgrave of Hessen*: and the other of *Hessen-Darmstat*; commonly styled *Landgrave of Darmstat*. Hither likewise came the 17 Earles of the *Wetteraw* to doe their duty to his Maiesy; who was now feasted in *Franckford* in the very same roome, where the Emperors at their Coronation use to be entertained. There may bea signe of good lucke in that: and perchance this may not be the last time, that he shall there be feasted. The *Landgrave of Hessen* (his country being now cleared of Generall *Tilly*, *Fugger*, and the Imperialists) brings his Army (of 12000 men, as some say, though with the most) to have ioyned with the Kings forces: they being in the *Rhingaw* at this present, within 3 leagues of *Franckford*. But the King now hearing how the Count of *Tilly* had besieged *Norimberg* ever since the eighteenth of November; the *Hessen* Army was immediately directed thitherwards: the King himselfe (rather then faile) having a purpose to goe likewise to the relieve of it. The *Hessen* Army being already beyond *Hanaw* upon their march; and there hearing *Tilly* to be remooved; returne backe againe to their former Quarter in the Country called the *Rhingaw*, The Landtgrave comes with an Army unto the King.

belonging for the most part unto the *Elector of Mentz*, and bordering upon the land of *Hessen*.

The Kings
Thanksgiving
or the taking
of Franckford.

On Tuesday (which is his usuall Sermon day) his Maiesty went to *Hoeft* againe; where, in the Chappell of the Castle he causes a solemne *Thanksgiving* to be made, for that he had obtained the faire Towne of *Franckford* without bloodshed. And truely it was Gods worke to encline the hearts of the Magistrates of that City, to hearken unto the King: especially since they even tother day denied *Tilly* the same favour. When *Spinola* in the yeere 1620. came towards the *Palatinate*; he very respectfully both by letters and messengers, wooes the Commonwealth of *Franckford*: so that the King now prevailed more with them, then these two great Generalls ever could. And well worthy of a *Thanksgiving* was the obtaining of this mighty Passe. There runnes a Proverb in *Germany* to this purpose.

„*He that lyes before Franckford a yeere and a day,
Is Master of the Empire for ever and aye.*“

Presently after this did the Landtgraves forces advance out of the *Rhingaw*, into the neighbour Countries of the *Westerwaldt* and *Westermalde*: anciently belonging unto seventene Lords, but much of late dayes encroached upon by the Electors of *Mentz*. The place of these Countries is on the East of the *Rhingaw*, betwixt it and the County of *Hanau*. Here, in the Kings Name, does the Landtgrave take in *Falkenstein* and *Reiffenburg*; with the two Castles of *Cronenburg* and *Ernfelt*: the strong Castle of *Konigstein* (some two Dutch leagues from *Franckford*) onely holding out for the Bishop of *Mentz*.

Most of these
townes from
whence these
Earles have
their Honors;
are in these two
Countries.

The Lords of these two little Countries having a long time beeene oppressed by the *Catholikes*, and therefore glad of any *Deliverer*: being by religion Protestants; and therefore the easilier drawne to accept the King for their *Protector*: and having, in the last place, their own disability to resist, for faire

faire excuse for their yeelding: at Franckford about this time, There be 17 both treated and concluded a full agreement with the King. small Earldome These were the Lords that made it. First, 3 Earles of *Nassau* of them in all and *Catzenelbogen* with their brethren. 1 Earle of *Nassau*, whereof one fa Warburg, *Ietzstein* and *Wisbaden*. 2 Earles of *Hanaw* and mily hath 2 or sometimes: like *Muntzenberg*. 4 Earles of *Solms*, and Lords of *Munzen-* as also there be berg. 2 Earles of *Stolberg* and *Conigstein*. 3 Earles of *Isen-* severall Earle burg and *Budingen*. 3 Earles of *Sagen* and *Witgenstein*. 1 Earle at once of the of *Wied*. 2 Earles of *Lemingen* and *Westerburg*. 2 Earles of *Waldeck*. The Earle of Besides divers of the Nobility, Gentry, and Cor- *Hanaw* hath 5; porations: who all consented and signed unto these follow- Earldomes, and 700 villages vnder him. All the rest also

The Treaty begins with a Preface, unto this purpose. That seeing the King of *Sweden* had never deserved of the Empire have their or Emperor to be provoked to this warre; which the King was forced to enter into for his owne defence, the Electors themselues having heretofore acknowledged so much for him: and that these Earles also, as members of the Empire, having ever beene regardfull of their duties unto the Emperor their Head; never having either done or intended hitherto, any act in prejudice of him: yet nevertheless the said Emperor having, without ever denouncing of warre, severall wayes assaulted Vs the King of *Sweden*; oppressed our Cousins and Allies; vndone many Princes of ancient families (giving their lands and honors away vnto new men;) violated all the privileges of the Empire; purposed to introduce an absolute government into *Germany* first; and by help of that, the easily- to enthrall the neighbour Princes afterwards: even therefore (saith the King) have We by way of prevention, and for our owne security, beene enforced to come thus armed into the Empire. Whereas, moreover, the Princes of the *Catholike League*, have against our expectation and desert; both before the battell of *Leipsich*, and afterward: with an armed hand continually opposed themselues against our proceedings: even therefore have We, with the assistance of God, and by the right of warre, taken in the country of *Franconia*, and all

the townes upon the *Mayn*, even unto *Frankford*; which belonged unto those *Leaguers*. And whereas, on the other side, Wee the Earles afore-said, have by wofull experience found; how that under the Emperors name, the Protestant Princes have still beeene abused: and that notwithstanding their own often submissions and the Emperors revocation of the proceedings; yet still under some pretence of iustice, or other; their Consciences have beeene oppressed; their Lands and Royalties invaded, their subiects pillaged, and no remedy to be gotten: therefore Wee now perceive no other course to be taken, but to oppose force by force; and being forsaken of all other assistance (the *Catholikes* having often broken all leagues and promises with us) then to put our selues under the protection of the Kings Maiesty of *Sweden*: whom Wee *cleerely* perceive to be qualified with many Royall and incomparable vertues; put into the busynesse, meerly out of a holy zeale for the releiving of the distressed Princes of the Religion; and apparently (without doubt) assisted by the hand of God Almighty. For the honour of God, therefore, the cause of Religion, the restoring of the course of Justice; and the preservation of our Country; have We, upon good and mature consideration, accepted of his Royall protection; both parties freely consenting unto these following Articles.

I.

Wee the King of *Sweden*. doe hereby receive the foresaid Earles, &c. (whether *Lutheranes* or *Calvinists*) into our Royall protection: promising to pursue as our enemies, whosoeuer shall disturb them for this their agreement with Vs: to maintaine them all in their due priviledges: never to make peace, but upon condition they be comprehended in it; and have first received satisfaction.

2.

Whereas these Earles have this long time stood dispossessed of the most part of their estates, by the Catholike Princes; We promise our assistance to the recovery of them: both in regard of their Religion, and of the many services they have heretofore

heretofore done for the Gospell. And if by any misprision they should fall into suits with their neighbours concerning particular interests ; We shall doe our best to compound the controversie.

3.

If during these warres, the enemy should deprive any of these Earles, or otherwise ruinate their dominions ; We shall right him the best We may, and force their enemies to restitution.

4.

If any of them shall be taken prisoners ; We shall doe our best for the recovery of his liberty.

5.

We will doe our uttermost to preserve their houses and Forts: and take order to defend them.

6.

And if We find it requisite to place any forces, in their Forts or Passes; We will take care that the souldiours be not troublesome.

7.

Whereas the usuall contribution cannot forthwith be fully paid by some of them, until such possessions of theirs as be at this present in the enemies hands, be cleared; We will recover them as soone as may be; and without any other clogge or condition, restore them to the right owner.

8.

That the said Earles may the better promote the common cause, and yet their subiects not be too much overlayed with contributions : We are content that the Ecclesiasticall goods may be also assed to contribute : and that upon refusall, so much may be distained by the Earles, as shall satisfie the contribution.

9.

Wee permit them also to take backe againe into their own hands, all such Cloysters and Monasteries, as have of late daies beeene wrung from them by the Catholikes.

E 3

10. We

I O.

that these Orders be, see our dezvous, enquartering, or marches in or through their Countries: But if necessity so requires, we will have our *Orders of warre* very strictly to be observed: and that all the time our forces are among them, a horseman of ours shall receive but 2. dollars and an halfe a day, with a certaine competency of hay and straw, &c. and every footman two dollars a moneths pay, untill the muster. All which shall afterwards be defalked out of the Contribution.

I I.

This confederation is no waies intended for the preiudice of the said Earles or their Estates: but for their protection rather, against the common enemies.

And we the Earles, &c. aforesaid, doe for our parts declare our selues as followeth.

I.

First, whereas it is as cleare as day, that God Almighty by the Armes of his Maiesty of *Sweden* (of whose Christian and iust intentions we nothing doubt) hath prevented the enemies of the Gospell in their bloody purposes: We therefore doe here with all thankfulnessse acknowledge, the King of *Sweden* to be our Deliverer and Protector, next under God; submitting our selues henceforth unto his protection, without any respect to the common enemy, how-ever called. And we doe hereby bind our selues, bodies and goodes; to stand for him to the uttermost of our power; never to fall off from him; to doe nothing in preiudice of him; never to have treaty, or to make peace with his Maiesties enenies, (whom we acknowledge for our own:) but by his Royall assent, and except his Crowne bee therein comprehended, and himselfe fully satisfied.

2.

Therefore doe we henceforth promise, to hinder by all our best endevours, his hurt; and to promote his good: neither by counsell nor by action, directly nor indirectly, doing any

any thing against his person, Crowne or Dignity ; but faithfully to assist him rather.

3.

And whereas nothing is more requisite, then that his Maies-
ty have the absolute command of the warres: we therefore as
his other Confederates have done, most humbly entreat him
to take that care wholly upon him; which we without contra-
diction will altogether leave unto him.

4.

Therefore have we delivered up into his Maiesties hands,
all our Cities, Forts, and Passages: and I the Earle of *Hanaw*,
have freely put my City and Castle of *Hanaw* into his power;
to fortifie, arme, and dispose the same, as the reason of the
warres shall require.

5.

We doe further promise, not to open our holds or passages
unto the enemy; nor to receive in any of theirs; but keep them
out rather unto the uttermost: opening them on the other
side unto his Maiesy, to lodge or enquarter his troopes in.

6.

Wee will also suffer his Rendezvous in our Countries:
provided, that the charges bee defalked out of our Con-
tribution.

7.

And for all the time of these warres, we ioyntly promise
to contribute 25 000. Florens a moneth: beginning the next
Decemb. 1. Old stile 1631. to be paid at *Franckford*. And if
any of us shall be negligent in paying of his part, (according
to the Rowle of each mans Assesment hereunto annexed) we
promise to distraine for it by a military execution.

8.

We undertake also, if neede be, to arme our subiects for his
Maiesties service: to call home those that at this time
serve the enemy; confiscating all their goods that refuse to
obey us.

9.

We

We permit all provisions and exportation of victuals, Artillery, and Ammunition, for his Maiesties service.

10.

And to keepe the same things from the enemy; whom we promise for his Maiesties service every where to pursue, as the Common adversaries to Vs and to the Gospell.

11.

And in case there be any man found in our Dominions, that hath forsaken his Maiesties Colours, or otherwise offended; wee will neither give him entertainment, nor passage: but either punish him our selues, or deliver him over unto the next of his Maiesties garrisons.

In testimony whereof, We the King and Earles, have mutually set to our hands and Seales. Given at *Franckford, &c.*

the Landt-
grave of Darm-
stadt
agrees with
King.

By this agreement was the Imperiall Commissary *Offa* utterly defeated of his hopes: who a little before this, had demanded of these *Wetterawish* Earles; a great quantity of provisions, and many hundreds of Carts and Wagons, to be sent him in unto *Selingstat* in the County of *Darmstat*. The Landtgrave of *Darmstat* (their neighbour,) much about this time (which seemes to have beene about the middle of November) made his agreement likewise with his Maiesty. Hereupon did the Landtgrave consigne over his chiefest Forts and Passages into the Kings hands: as the strong Towne of *Russelheim* upon the *Mayn*, some 5 English miles from *Mentz*, first; (into which the King presently put Sir *John Hamiltons* Regiment, which was commaunded by his Sergeant-Major *Magedugall*) and *Darmstat* after that, the towne of his own residence, he remooving his Court upon it unto the Castle of *Hessen*.

By this time was the *Swedish* army advanced beyond *Hoest*, and a standing Leaguer formed at the villages of *Costum* and *Cassel* right against *Mentz*, though on the other side of the rivers. At *Walb* a small Dorp upon the *Rhine*, (some league or lesse from *Cassel*) was there so narrow a passage into the Country of the *Rhingaw*, that 1000 Spaniards of the Bishop of

of *Menz* his men, thought themselues sufficient for the guard of it. Wafting themselues therefore over the *Rhine*; and calling in the Country Boores to be their Pyoners in casting up of some workes; they are presently there entrenched. Against these the King now sends: and the *Swedens* rushing in upon the *Spaniards* with a power too great for them; after a hard Bowte or two, drive them from their Ordnance and new made batteries: lay some 500 of them dead upon the earth; enforcing the rest into the river: where though they dyed not (like their fellowes) *a bloody death*; yet can they not be said to have dyed *a dry death*.

The next country people presently yeelding thereupon, are amerced by the King to pay him the same Contribution, and to sweare unto him the same *fealty*; which they before had done vnto their Lord the Elector of *Menz*: and to redeeme their Country from present pillage, by a ransome of ready money.

The Passage being thus gained, the Kings purpose was, to send out some strong *Partees* to keepe the Country in action and Alarme, whilst himselfe might vndisturbed lay a bridge over the *Rhine* at the said *Walb*, and goe directly unto the siege of *Menz*. The *Swedish* thus sent abroad, range along upon the rivers side as farre as *Bingen*: where lighting upon the Custome-house which was right against the towne on the contrary side of the water, at which, such boates as passed the *Rhine* and *Nau*, (here falling into the *Rhine*) were made to pay *Toll* and *Custome*: they there kill 150 of the garrison, and carry away some stoare of ready money, which they there found in *Banco*. And this, (though an Action of no great moment) yet would I not passe it over, because it was the furthest place that the Kings people meddled withall, on that side of the *Rhine*. For the Kings bridge at *Walb* not fadging according to his mind, (the Elector of *Menz* with such great forces opposing him on the other side of the river) the army is calld off from those parts; and the Landtgrave of *Hessen* being left in those quarters, both to secure that banke of the

Rhine; and to keepe, withall, what was already conquered in the *Rhingaw* and the *Wetteraw*: and that, lastly, he might be neer vnto his own Country upon all occasions: the King devises upon another course; which, though in respect of going to *Mentz*, it were the furthest way about, yet it at last prooved the neerest way home.

And now beginnes the Army to gather together about *Franckford*: over whose bridge of *Saxenhauen*, December 1. they are passed: with a resolution (as his Maiesties owne selfe affirmed to my Lord Ambassador Sir *Henry Vane*) to goe to the siege of *Heidleberg*. His forces being directed into the *Bergstraes*; himselfe fairely followes after; lodging the same night at *Langen*, a village belonging vnto the Landtgrave of *Darmstat*. This *Bergstraes* is (as the word signifieth) *a street or way of hills*: the whole Country being a continued ledge of indifferent high and even mountaines, trending along even from *Franckford* towne almost, quite thorow the Landtgrave of *Darmstat*s country, part of the Bishoprick of *Mentz*, and the Prince *Palatines* Dominions; even untill you come to the very gates of *Heidleberg*. Betwixt these mountaines, and the goodly river of the *Rhine* (which runnes along by them almost in a streight line) is there a narrow long country, with a many of handsome townes (and some weake *Spaniſh* garrisons in them) which were to be cleered by the way. The names of them (as they lye in order) are *Gerſheim*, *Stein*, *Swingenberg*, *Bensheim*, *Heppenheim*, *Weynheim*, *Starkenberg*, and *Ladenburg*: all which were in this march taken in; the *Spaniſh* garrisons easily quitting the places, as too weake to be defended. And now was the King almost come unto *Heidleberg*; when, upon consideration of a certaine strong Fort he had passed by; (which lying upon the *Rhine* on the *Bergstraes* side, served for a Blockhouse to defend *Oppenheim*; that was right against it on the other side of the water) he quite on the sudden altered his determination. Considering, therefore, that if he should engage himselfe upon the siege of *Heidleberg*, and leave this Fort enemy behind his backe: then might the *Spaniſh*

going into the
Bergstraes, and
towards the
siege of Heidle-
berg.

Divers townes
taken in the
Bergstraes.

niſh forces under the favour of that Fort, easily there passe the Rhine: and at their owne pleasures both cut off all his provisions, and hinder his retreate besides, backe againe unto Franckford.

This therefore (and that worthily) quite altered his resolution; which is now fully bent for the taking in of this Fort. The ppeece was kept by 1000 *Italians* and *Burgundians*: and those such old blades, as the King had never yet met with the like since the Battell of *Leipsich*. No Colours had they with them: those were left with their *Comrades* in *Oppenheim*. Vpon Sunday, Decemb. 4. Grave *Neeles* with the Kings *Life-guards* sets downe before it: who being the next day relieved by Sir *John Hebron* and Colonel *Winckle* with their two *Brigades*; he rises, and leaves them to purue the businesse.

The Fort was encompassed with a double *Graff* or *Moate*; goes and bes and *Hebron* and *Winckle* being set downe, and immedately falling to their worke with the spade, were ready by Wednesday at night, to make both their *lines* or *rowling trenches*, to mee in the outer-most *Graff*. So soone as this should be done, the King about 5 a clocke at night, gave command unto Sir *John Hebron* (who being the eldest Colonell, commaunded there in chiefe) to *Storme*, or give an assault vnto the Fort, before the morning. Scarcely was the King from *Hebron*; but there was a letter brought him from a Gentleman of the *Palatinate*, that dwelt above upon the river, that he would send the King some boates that very evening. Vpon this was the *Storming* countermanded: and about 9 or 10 at night, the boates came indeed. One *Hild* a poore Fisher-man of *Gerſheim* was the man employed by the Gentleman; who not onely brought two great boates downe the streame with him from about *Wormbs*; but shewed the King also where the *Spaniſh* had funke another very great *Rhine-ſhip*, in the bottome of the river. In these three boates, the King first of all (with as much silence as might be) sends over his own *Guards*, or his *Life-Regiment*. All this which had hitherto fallen out so hopefully, had like to have beene quite dashed by an odde accident.

cident. A certaine souldier (a *Sweden* borne) having gotten into a little boate by himselfe (which upon that river are one-ly made of 3 boords,) was skimming himselfe at the same time also over the river. But the stremme carrying him about 12 or 20 score too low towards the towne, he there chops upon some 500 *Spaniſh* horse, which had their guards at that place. These taking the Alarne at the *Swedes* comming and strange language ; presently march up to the place where the *Lifeguards* were even now newly landed. But the *Swedes* having there chanced upon some advantage of ground , as hedges, bushes, and the like: the *Spaniſh* horse were by these things so long kept off, untill the other could well put themselues into order. The *Spaniſh* charging thereupon with their pistols, are saluted againe with such a volly of muskets; that they are forced to retreat, the better to recover their order againe. It was about midnight by this time ; when as the boates being now come backe againe, the King had shipt over Colonell *Hogendorff* with the *Red* Regiment in them : His Maiesties selfe passing over likewise with it. By the time that the King was landed, the *Spaniſh* having gotten more forces together, renew their charge againe with more fury, yet with no better successe, being the second time beaten off againe also. By this time is Colonel *Vitzthimb* come over with the *white* Regiment or *Brigade*: and the *Spaniſh* now againe reenforced, give a third charge upon the King : but being now repulsed with greater slaughter, they perceive their enemies to be too strong for them, and never fall on againe. Thus the King having 3 of his *Brigades* safely landed; and the *Spaniſh* being finally retyred : marches immediately towards the Towne of *Oppenheim* : where for a while we leave him at his *Thanksgiving*, for having thus passed the *Rhine*.

Hebron all this while before the Fort , (his command of *Storming* being contradicted) suffered continuall sallyes and Alarne from the valiant besieged. About 11 at night, 200 of them sally out with great bravery, and fall into *Hebrons* Quarter; and a very hot service they made of it: untill with much importunity,

passes over
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importunity, and some losse, they were perswaded at last to retyre againe. About halfe an houre after, out upon *Winckles* Quarter they fall likewise; who at length also beates them into the Fort. The purpose of these strong and frequent sallyes, first upon one, and then upon another, was, to hinder the meeting of their lines, now ready to be perfected. But hearing a little after this, of the Kings third volly on the other side of the water; and that He had made good his ground; and how the *Spaniſh* comming now on no more, the King was marched vp to *Oppenheim*: they had no more comfort to sally. Fearing therefore that their paſſage of retreat over the *Rhine* would be utterly cut off, they about 7 a clocke in the morning ſend out a Drumme unto Sir *John Hebron* to parly: with whom they at laſt concluded upon these Conditions.

The Fort yee
ded unto Sir
John Hepburn

On the *Spaniards* part.

1.

They were at 7 a clock at night (Thursday December 8.) The Cōdition to march out with bag and baggage, Colours flying, Drummes beating, Matches lighted, and Bandeliers filled.

2.

To be assured by the King, not to be moleſted in their way, by any of his forces; nor by the *Landgrave of Hessen* men, or any others.

3.

A Captaine ſhould be given them for hostage, (they leaving another with the King for him:) and their garrison to be convoyed with 1000 Muskettiers, to a village the ſame night halfe a league diſtant from thence: and the next morning, vnto the bankes of the *Mayn*.

4.

His Maieſty to furnish them all their march, with victualls, &c.

On the Kings part.

1.

All of the Fort ſhall take their way towards *Bingen*.

F 3

2. They

2. They shall first passe the *Mayn*, and the *Rhine* afterwards.

3.

They shall not goe into *Mentz*: but to some other place, where there is a *Spaniſh* garrison.

4.

They shall carry away none of their Ordnance.

5.

Nor pillage any towne or village in the way: nor offer iniury unto any ſouldier at that time ſerving his Maieſty.

Two hundred *Scots* of my Lord *Reayes* and Colonell *Lamſdells* men, (which belonged unto *Hebrons Brigade*) were put in the Fort, ſo ſoone as ever the *Spaniſh* were gone out of it.

Wee left the King lately marching towards *Oppenheim*: where he yet lay, within Cannon-shot (almost) of the very walls of it. Summons had already beene given unto the towne: which, upon the taking of the Fort, ſends out their keyes,
e Towne of and yeelds gladly enough vnto his Maieſty: and for that they
penheim
lded.

These 200, were all (or almost all) that were left of Sir *James Ramſyes* Regiment: himſelfe lay yet at *Wurzburg* to be cured of his wound, which there (as we told you) he received. Vpon an hill, a little above the edge of the towne, was there a large vast Castle with a garrison of 600 or 700 men in it; which yet ſtood out againſt the King. There having beene 107 boates found under the towne wall, upon the river; of these the King ſends over enow, to fetch *Winckles* Regiment firſt, and *Hepburnes* after him: with the Cannon, baggage, and Caſſillery laſt of all. The ſtreame carrying downe *Hepburn* and *Winckle* ſomething lower then the towne; they upon their landing advance up the hill, to meeke the Kings forces: whom they now ſaw ſtanding in faire *Battaglia*, ready to give a generall assault upon the Castle. And now thoſe 200 *Scots* that had beene put into the towne at the yeelding of it; fall imme- diately thereupon to *Storme* the ſaid Castle at the Towne-port, which

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panied
olonell He-
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tions.

which is betwixt the Castle and the Towne. The *Scots* fell in with such a tempest and resolution, that they instantly forced the garrison into the inner port; they *Storming* in together with them: so that by that time the King was ready to assault on one side, and *Hepburn* on the other; they meete (to their great admiration,) divers of the garrison that had already leapt over the wals, throwne away their Armes, and crying *Quarter*; as the rest also now did, that had not yet gotten out of the Castle. In both these actions (about the Fort and Castle) were there some 200 *Spanish* (though few of them *Spaniards*) cut downe, and 8 *Colours* taken: which were the first *Colours* that ever the King tooke from the *Spaniards*; this being the first time that ever he had to deale with them.

Here fell there out a pretty merriment, which some Readers may perchance be pleased withall. Whilst the most of the *Spanish* were begging for *Quarter*, a certaine Officer with some others of his men, not daring to trust the courtesie of an enemy; fairely slips away from the *Scots* that had so ferryted them: running out of the towne for life, even close besides the Kings army. It chanced that an Hare starting out of the bushes about the ditch, ranne directly before the *Spaniards*: and within a few pases after, two other Hares also ranne as directly after them. The *Swedish* laughed heartily to see what a Convoy the *Spaniards* had gotten. Tis ill lucke (saies one of the soldiers) to have ones way crost with a Hare; and that ill lucke is now ours: for we are likely to get but little honour by them, should all their Countrimen runne away in the like manner.

The next day, the King was purposed to go towards *Mentz*; and the Army being advanced to the top of the hill; the weather fell out so bitterly cold, snowy, and windie, that they were even faine to turne backe againe, leaving their Ordnance behind them on the hill top. On the morrow morning, they put themselues upon their march againe; and the townes being not above 3 Dutch miles one from another; the Army by ~~5~~ a clocke at night presented themselues before the view of the

the City. They of *Menz* out of a Fort they had, let flye their Ordnance amaine upon the Kings folke : but it now growing darke, the King with the most of the forces making his approaches along the rivers side ; sends *Hebron* to make his, close by the gallowes Port. *Hebron* lodging his *Brigade* in a place commodious enough, within musket shot of the Port; that very night (notwithstanding he were extremely shot at) runns his *Lines* even to the very *Graff* or towne ditch. The King, on his side, found much more fierce resistance; the garrison still sallying out upon him to hinder his working: who for all this, having once gotten the advantage of the Suburbs; with the losse of 100 men, (or such a matter) brings his approaches also close unto the wall. The second day the towne gave hote fire upon the Kings side; and the Ordnance from the Castle thundred as lowdly against *Hebron*: whom Colonell *Axel Lillye* comming now to visit, had his legge shot away by the shinne bone. The next day being Sunday, the shooting continued very fiercely on both sides : the King having by this time raised some Batteries in a garden, and mounted his Ordnance upon them. By Munday morning, the King with his *Brigades* on one side; and *Hebron* with his upon the tother, being gotten close under the wals; the towne desires to parly; which the King denies them, unlesse the Citradell will parly also. The Castle at first refuses the motion ; but considering a little better upon it, how that notwithstanding they found themselues strong enough on that part of the Castle towards the enemy, yet being conscious of their weaknesse of the part towards the towne, (should the King first take that) they agreed also to parly.

These were the chiefest of the Conditions.

1. To depart next day with flying Ensignes, bag and baggage, and 2 peeces of Cannon.
2. Have leave, some to goe into *Franckendale*, some into *Creutznach*: and some to be conveyed towards *Luxemburg*.
3. These last not to serve against the King in three moneths.

Thus

Thus the next day, Tuesday Decemb. 13. about 4 a clocke, the garrison marched out, after they had the second time well pillaged the townsmen and the Cloysters. Some of the *Germanes* become the Kings souldiers. They left behind them a very great store of Ordnance, and 120 lasts of powder; with a wonderfull plenty of all other provisions. The City redeemed it selfe from pillage, by giving the King a ransome of 80000 Dollars: 22000 more being drawne from the *Spirituality* and the *Jewes*: which last people paid 18000 Dollars of the money, for the redemption of their houses and *Synagogue*.

And thus was this faire City of *Mentz* conquered: which is there seated upon the Southerne banke of the *Rhine*, where the river *Mayn* flowes into it. By the taking of this towne, hath the King wonne all upon the *Mayn*, euen to the very place where the *Mayn* looses it selfe. *Mentz* is honoured with an *University* and an *Archbishops See*: and He with an *Electorate* and the *Chancellorship of Germany*. These *Honours*, together with the great Estate belonging vnto them, had made the Bishop Elector of *Mentz* a very prime and a potent Prince, among the *Catholike Leaguers*. No friends had neither he, nor his two predecessors, beene all this while vnto the Prince *Elector Palatine*; nor to their neighbours the Earles of the *Wetteraw*. These had beene some of the Kings reasons to mooue against him. This present Elector (*Wambold* by name) having in October before heard of the Kings atchivements upon the *Mayn*, had then entertained 2000 of those *Spanijs*, into his City and Country thereabouts, (though much against the minds of his subiects) which under the leading of the Count of *Solms*, *Roverot*, and *Wittenhorst*, had brought some *Wallons* and *Burgundians* out of the *Low-Countries* to reenforce the *Spaniards* in the *Palatinate*. *Wittenhorsts* Regiment being received into the City, had very basely plundered and abused the townsmen. The Elector asking them whether they thought themselues yet strong enough to keepe his Towne against the King of *Sweden*? You shew your selfe (saies a *Spanijs* Commaunder) to be but a Churchman by your fearefull

question: seeing we are strong enough to beate off three such Spanish brag. Kings as the King of *Sweden*. For all which confidence of theirs, the Elector perceiving by their getting ready their horses, by loading their baggage upon their wagons, and by making all ready to be gone, so soone as ever they heard of the taking of *Oppenheim*; that there was little trusting himselfe vnto them; he with teares in his eyes protested, *That the Spaniards had abused him*: immediately thereupon packing up his treasure and iewels; and shipping himselfe away downe the *Rhine* unto *Cullen*: which hath beene the common Refuge and Receptacle in these late warres for the expulsed *Catholicke* Princes; even as the Papists heretofore ieered that the *Hage* had beene, for the *Protestants*. To see what God can doe! Tis very wonderfull to observe, how much the greatnessse of the Electors of *Menz*, is within these few yeeres abated! Bishop *Schweichard* feasted *Spinola* at his comming into the *Palatinate*: since which time, he and his two next Successors have encroached upon the Prince Elector *Palatine*, and other *Protestants*: and now Bishop *Wambold* is glad, for the saving of his deare life, to quit all againe, at the Kings comming into the *Palatinate*.

The King enters *Menz* in triumph.

The next day, being the King of *Sweden*s birth-day, December 14. (which made him 37 yeeres compleat, and began his 38th yeere:) would his Maiesty honour his own Nativity, by entring in state into the towne; being waited upon in the triumph, by Landtgrave *William of Hessen*, with very many other Lords and Princes. His lodging was provided in the goodly Castle, the sometimes Palace of the Bishop.

Fryday next was the day appointed for the Thanksgiving, which is a duty, that this pionis King never useth to omit, after any notable atchivement. The Sermon was preached by his own Chaplain; and this *Psalme* or *Hymne* of *Luthers* was ordered to be sung after it, beginning, *Preserve, ô Lord, to us thy Word*. The rest of it being chiefly against *Popery*, and *Popish practices*. By this may the Reader see, the Kings zeale and soundaesse in Religion. The goods of such Citizens as fled, were

were presently confiscated: those that staid under the Kings protection, received the freedome both of goods and consciences; having nothing at all taken from them.

This City did the King make choice of, for his place of residence, to keepe *Christmas* in; staying there, the most part of the winter following. Here did his Maiesy hold so Royall and Magnificent a standing Court, as no Prince in Christendome (perchance) had such a State and Presence. Here have bin seene at once, 6 soveraigne Princes (that is, chiefe Princes) of the Empire; 12 or 13. Ambassadors of Kings, States, Electors and Princes; besides Dukes and Lords of second houses, and the martiall men of his own Army; which were none of the worst showes, as being the men that procured all the rest of that glory. The Kings next care was for the fortifying of the place, which as fast as could be, was in this order performed. Whereas there were some hills neere-hand that commanded the Towne, those the King directs to have taken into his new workes; which were of circuite large enough to lodge an Army of 20000 men in. Two bridges were also laid over the two rivers. That over the *Rhine*, was builded upon 61 great flat-bottomed boates; each lying the distance of an Arch one from another: many families of people living sometimes in the boates under the bridge, like as in the *Low-Countries*. Beyond this bridge towards the land of *Hessen*, was there another great worke drawne; able to lodge 10000 men in, for the securing of that passage. The otherbridge over the *Main*, was founded upon fifteene great flat-bottomed boates; where, namely, the current runnes strongest: the rest being builded upon great piles of wood. Vpon that Angle or corner of ground, where the *Main* falleth into the *Rhine*; was there a royall Fort to be builded, with 6 Bulwarks unto it: which should guard the passage out of the land of *Darmstet*, and give the law besides, unto both the Rivers.

The *Lorrainers* in the Imperiall City of *Worms* in the *Palatinat*e betwixt *Oppenheim* and *Franckendale*, hearing of this newes of *Oppenheim* and *Mentz*, provide instantly to be

Mentz fortifi
and how.

packing. *Offeland* their Colonel would needes shake hands with the townesmen upon these termes: 3000 Dollars they must presently give him for his farewell. And that comming something easily, he demands 10000 more. A sackfull of silver plate he also layd hold of: and two Burgers would he carry along with him, till the 10000 Dollars were sent after him. Into a vault behind St. Andrewes Church, were 50 barrels of powder stowed, his men being not able to carry it away. Vnto this the souldiers threaten to put fire, if they might not have what they pleased. Yea they did it, to the miserable spoyling of the innocent neighbours and their houses. The like outrages did other of their Country-men commit, when about this time they fearefully shifted away out of other places of the *Palatinate*. *Wormbs* being forsaken, the King sends, and it accepts of his protection. Whereas we have often heretofore mentioned these *Lorrayers*: Let us, whilst the King refreshes himselfe in *Mentz*, digresse a little to tell you of their unfortunate Expedition a few moneths before undertaken against the King of *Sweden*: this being the very time that they returned home againe from him.

The Story of
the Duke of
Lorraines expedi-
tion, from the
beginning to
the ending.

The Duke of
Lorrayne is by
birth, Count
de Vaudemont
in Lorrayne: and
by marriage of
the old Duke of
Lorraines
daughter and

The Duke of *Lorrayne* (a great Prince lying betwixt *France* and *Germany*) had beene drawne into action by the Emperor. The reward for his service was reported to be an Electorate (of *Saxon*, or *Brandenburg*) of which, *Lorrayne* being a Prince of the Empire, was very capable. Another instigation also might be, an edge which he bare against the *French* King; Colleague with the King of *Sweden*, and the drawer of him into *Germany*. The Duke of *Lorrayne* being appointed the Emperors Generall on that side of the *Rhine*, next unto him: about July and August 1631. gives out Commissions for 4000 horse, and 14000 foote. His brother in law the Prince or Duke of *Pfaltzburg* accepts also of being his Lieutenant-General: and *Harincourt* is made one of the chiefe Directors of the expedition. The forces being raysed, the Duke sends to *Zabern* in *Alsatia*, (the first Towne of *Germany* beyond the Forrest of *Pfaltzburg*, and within some

nine

nine English miles off *Strasburg*) to be supplied with waggons heire, Duke and carriages; that being his way into the *Palatinate*. He demands also to have his 4000 Horse enquartered for a moneth, in the County of *Mompelgart*; which belongeth unto a Duke of *Wirtemberg*. To prevent this, is *Ascanio*, Governor of *Germerheim*, about the beginning of September commanded thither, with sufficient forces.

About mid September these *Lorrainers* put themselues up- on their march: and Generall *Tillyes* Army being now defeated at *Leipsich*; *Offa* (who had to doe in *Alsatia* and those parts) is sent to be *Commissary-General* unto the *Lorrainers*: that is, To direct the actions of warre, to appoint the Generall which way to march, and what to doe; and to provide and pay the Army, by the Contributions in the Emperors name exacted from the country. This is the office of an *Imperiall Commissary*. Now whereas these *Lorrainers* should at first have marched up to *Tilly*; *Offa*'es desire (at first) was to joyne them unto *Altringer* and *Fugger*: for which reason they now marched directly thorow the *Palatinate* towards the land of *Hessen*. They were gotten to *Wormbs* and the *Bergstraes*, by the end of September: and about the first of October (old Stile) the Count of *Sulz*, with 26 Companies of Imperiall Foote, and some few horse, avoyding out of *Gelnhausen* and *Fulda* (by *Hessen*) for feare of the *Swedish*; marches with great speede thorow *Sleter* and *Salmunster* in the County of *Hanaw*, and so along thorow the *Speschart Forrest*, unto *Aschaffenburg*: intending thence to goe by *Franckford* into the *Wetteraw*, whither he hoped the *Lorrainers* would within a day or two come unto him. But this iourney of his was shortned; the *Lorrainers* meeting him at *Babenhausen* neere the said *Aschaffenburg*; at which bridge their purpose also was, to have passed the *Mayn* into *Franconia*.

October the fourth, *Harincourt* passes his horse over the *Rhine* at *Wormbs*, to goe towards *Steyn* in the *Bergstraes*, and so onwards by *Franckford* into *Franconia*. Hither unto *Wormbs* going into the Duke of *Lorrain* comes: and now he begins to devide *Franconia*,

his forces. Some two troopes of horse, and three Companies of Foote, are sent into *Heidleberg*, some are put into *Stein*, 5 others into *Wormbs*; 10 Ensignes are by *Offa* convoyed into *Heilbrun*: 1500 were put into *Creutznach* and thereabouts 4000 of them were by this time runne away: and 8000 sent towards *Francomia*. *Tilly* being come to *Aschaffenburg*, thither about October tenth goes the Duke of *Lorraine* in person. Their conference was; about the Emperors taking on of these forces, and how to get pay for them. To doe the first, is *Altringer* sent by *Tilly*: who October 11 passes the *Mayn* towards them: but as for the second, *Tilly* was not so flush of money; the Duke gate onely good words; and hopes of pay within 14. dayes. The *Lorrayne* Army followed their Duke thorow the *Ottenwaldt*, warily and fearefully: so doubtfull of the *Swedish Land-lopers*; that every night they cut downe the trees to barricadoe up the way against them. Being gotten up as farre into *Franconia* as *Heibach* and *Miltenburg* upon an elbow of the river *Mayn*, (halfe way betwixt *Wormbs* and *Wurzburg*) thither (about October 17) comes the Generall *Tilly* from *Aschaffenburg*; both to requite the Dukes former visit performed to him; and to give some order withall vnto the Army. And now were the Imperiall and *Lorrayne* Armies so neere together, that they might be said to be conioyned: betwixt which two resolved it was, that whilst he went towards the *Palatinate*, they should lye in the wind, betweene the Circle of *Schwaben* and the *Swedish*: but by no meanes venture to assault them.

This last clause, the *Lorrayers* liked well enough. And *Tilly* needed not to have put in that; for the *Swedish* fought all opportunities to begin first, and to be still before-hand with them. About the first weeke in November, (*Tilly* being now gone, and the *Lorrayers* left alone) 4 Regiments of them are defeated by the *Swedish* at *Gutterish*, neere unto *Mergentheim* and *Burrell*. A few dayes after that, the *Swedish* falling into their Quarters betwixt *Mergentheim* and *Bisopshem*; cut in pieces 26 troopes of their horse, beate up their whole

whole Leaguer, put them unto a disorderly retreat; and followed so hard upon their reere, that the wayes side by the river *Tamber* was strewed with their dead bodies. And thus were the *Lorrainers* driven out of *Franconia*; and about the end of November forced over the *Rhine* into the *Palatinate* againe: where the Duke hearing the *French* to be fallen into his Country, gathers the remnants of his army together, (which had been left in severall garrisons of the *Palatinate*,) and homeward he returnes; carrying the dead body of his said brother in Law the Prince of *Pfaltzburg* along with him, who lately dyed at *Munchen* in *Bavaria*. Marching therefore (scarce with 8000 men) along the Easterne banke of the *Rhine*, unto *Drusenheim* (neere *Strasburg* and *Hagenaw*) he comes: where *Rhine*, (having first askt leave of the *Strasburgers*) hee passes the *Rhine* by the two new skoncs, towards his own Country: much about Christmas day, recovering home to his own towne of *Nancy*. Some of these *Lorrainers* behaving themselves untowardly afterwards; (for they all went not immediately home with their Duke) were cut off by the *Strasburgers*: others were knockt downe by the abused Boores of the County of *Hagenaw*: others, by the new forces levied for the King of *Sweden* in *Alsatia*: for in all these quarters were some of them left behind for a time. And this was the end of this returning in Princes unfortunate expedition. The losse of most of his Army abroad; and of some part of his own Country at home: and of his Brother in law into the Bargaine. Thus dearely had this Prince bought his hopes of the Emperors favour, the promise of the living Lyons skinne, the *Electorate*: and the sight of a small part of *Germany*. *And this is the fortune of the warres, That every man cannot be fortunate in the warres.*

Returne we now to that *Favorite of Mars*; the ever (hitherto) victorious King of *Sweden*; whom upon Fryday December 16 we left in *Mentz* at his Devotions: which were within two dayes blessed with a new victory. A strong Imperiall towne in the further parts of the *Wetteraw*, (fronting likewise upon *Hessen* and *Hanaw*) there is, *Friedberg* by name; which

ridberg sum-
moned.

idberg taken.

which had layne out till now, and beene kept by a *Spaniſh* garrison. It had beene summoned in the Kings name before; and conditions offered, That if the *Spaniards* would leave the City in the same estate they first found it; they should goe out with full armes, bag and baggage, every way like souldiers, and be convoyed over the *Rhine* into whatsoeuer place they desired. The Citizens were likewise commanded to accommodate them with carriages and other necessaries for their remoovall. But *Lewis de Verreicken* the Governour, returned this answer unto the Kings Trumpet; That concerning the giving up of the towne, he had received no directions from his Generall *Don Philip de Sylva*: who being now at *Creutznach*, the Trumpet might goe thither to understand his pleasure; untill which were knowne, he purposed to defend himselfe, and not to goe out upon such easie termes. A faire answer. But the Burgers knowing the strength of the place, not to be answerable to the high words of the *Spaniards*; so farre prevaile with the Governour, as to promise another, and a finall answer to be sent unto the King within 10 dayes after: and that some of their City should in the meane time be sent unto *Don Philip*. The Governour consents, and the Burgers are dispatched unto the Generall: from whom they returne with a peremptory command unto *Verreicken*, to defend the place unto the last drop of blood. How prodigall men are of other mens lives! and how valiant, when themselues are not in the danger! *Verreicken*, for all this, perceiving the place not to be tenable against such forces as had so quickly taken in *Oppenheim* and *Mentz*: in the night time December 18. sends his souldiers out of *Fridberg* into *Braunsfels*, (a towne and Castle upon a hill in the *Wetteraw*, not farre from *Fridberg*, and of very much importance: himselfe and family still remaining within the towne. Colonell *Haubald* (the Conquerour and Governour of *Hanaw*) getting an inckling of the matter; flies in upon him the very next day, with a lusty partee of Dragooners; seizes upon the towne for the King, chops a garrison into the Castle, arrests *Verreicken*, and imprisons him; the Cour-

lour being, for his having broken with the King, in not sending to him at the 10 dayes end, as he had promised upon the former Summons. Done like *Hanbald*.

Three dayes after (December 21) was the strong Castle of *Konigstein* taken *Konigstein* in the *Wetteraw* (some two Dutch miles to the North of *Franckford*) surrendered unto *William Landtgrave of Hessen*: which had till now held out for the Elector of *Menz*. The high and hilly situation of it, and the wonderfull store of provisions in it; had made it to be (by some) esteemed impregnable. This procured the garrison to bee wondered at; that having 30 peeces of good Ordnance in it, with provisions for a whole yeeres siege: they should so easily yeeld up such a place, as commanded the whole country about it. But they liked not their cause perchance, now that the Elector was fled; or had rather serve the King of *Sweden*: into whose pay, 3 Ensignes of the 4 that were in it, presently betooke themselues. Some say, that the Landtgrave had one of his brothers here slaine with a shot, which (if true) much abated the contentment that he might otherwise have taken, for so notable a piece of service. Thus did the Landtgrave take a *The Landtgrave of Hessen re-turnes home.*

The towne of *Bingen* upon the *Rhine* (where the river *Bingen Nan* falls into it:) was much about this time forsaken by the garrison: the strong towne of *Creutznach* standing upon the same *Nan*, being by this meanes left the nakeder. And not to take too much paines in writing the Story, where there was not very much paines taking in performing of the action; the townes of *Altzeim*, *Nenstat*, *Kaisers-lauter*, and o- and divers others; were much about this time voluntarily also forsaken by their townes in the *Palatinat* forsaken by the Spanish.

Before this time, and a little after the taking of *Menz*; was the Rhinegrave *Otho Philip* (of the family of the Princes

Palatine) dispatched with 20 troopes of horse towards the river of *Mosel*. The designe being, to keepe off the *Spaniards* that then lay in the Bishoprick of *Triers*; or that might hereafter come out of the *Low-Countries*: whence (as the newes was), some were now about to march, under the command of Prince *Barbanson*. These *Spaniards* having about Christmas time passed the *Mosel* at *Triers*; tooke their way thorow the *Hunsrück*; first marching unto *Trarbach*, and so into the *Palatinate*. Here (by *Trarbach*) the *Rhinegrave* encountering with them, put them to the rowte; the most of the spoyle lighting upon *Wittenhorsts* regiment: who being by agreement at his turning out of *Mentz*, to goe into *Luxemburg*, and not to serve against the King in 3 moneths; had now been met withall by the other *Spaniards*, and perswaded to turne backe againe with them. And thus was his breach of Articles iustly now required: he at this encounter losing all that pilage, which he had so uniuersally sharked away from those of *Mentz*. Three Cornets were here taken by the *Rhinegrave*, and at *Mentz* presented unto the King.

The Rhinegrave
ent towards
the *Mosel*.

The Hunsrück
is not a towne,
but a ledge of
mountaines,
something
knotty on their
top, like the
edge or chine
bone of a Grey-
hounds backe,
whence the
name to the
Country,
Hunsrück, sig-
nifies a Dogs
backe.

The Rhinegrave
defeates the
Spaniards.

and
takes some
frontier townes
in the Bishop-
ricke of *Triers*.

This Don Philip
was Generall
of all the *Span-
ish* in the *Pal-
atinate*, & in the
Bishopricks of
Mentz & *Triers*.

The *Spaniards* being thus forced over the *Mosel* againe; the *Rhinegrave* converts his Armes towards the North-sterne part of the *Palatinate*, into the Duchy of *Simmern*, namely: whence Prince *Lodowick Philip* brother to the King of *Bohemia*, hath his Title of *Duke of Simmern*. Hereabouts tooke he in the towne of *Simmern* first: and of *Bachbrach* next: (whence the good *Rhenish* wine is named) as also *Caub*, *Boppard*, and *Over-Wesel*; all in that corner; some of them in *Simmern*, and some in the Bishopricke of *Triers*: and all till that time kept by *Spanish* garrisons. The *Rhinegrave* presently upon this marching towards *Franckendale*, chances upon a ParTEE of 9 troopes of *Don Philip de Sylva's* horse, that were going out a boote-haling: whom after a long fight, he rowtes and overthrowes, taking 5 Cornets away from them. The neighbour Boores assembling together at the noyse of the fight; way-layd, and gave chace unto those *Spaniards* that escaped: with clubbs, and flayles, and pitch-forks, and some with better

better weapons, shewing their love in this sort unto these their old neighbours: their quarrell to them being the same their wives had vnto the wolues and foxes, for stroying of their Lambs and Pullen.

As much Country-courtesie did other Boores shew likewise unto the garrison of *Heidleberg*, who now flew out also: of whom, the Friday before Christmas day, they were said to have knockt downe the best part of 200.

Before this time had the faire Imperiall towne of *Spiers* accorded (on the South edge of the *Palatinate*, and upon the *Rhine*, with the King where the Imperiall *Chamber* and *Pleadings of the Crowne* are kept) accorded with the King, and accepted of his garrison, as the Imperiall City of *Worms* had before done. The Citizens now raising 3 new Companies for the Kings service, made the *Swedish* pretty and strong in these parts: whereupon, Decemb. 21. they flye out and surprize *Eyserthal*, belonging unto the Prince Elector *Palatine*. The *Spanish* garrison of *Germerheim*, (some 2 leagues to the South of *Spiers*, and upon the same side of the *Rhine*) perceiving the danger to be neere, and their friends to be farre off; voluntarily forsake the town. The same doe their Countrimen (more Southerly) in *Lindau*, *Weissenburg* and *Sultz*; pretty townes all: and all neere upon the *Rhine*, and towards *Strasburg*. The garrison of the strong towne of *Udenheim* (newly by the *Spaniards* called *Philipburg*) lying right almost against *Germerheim* on the other side of the water, thinke presently to reprise *Spiers* againe. Two hundred of them therefore, secretly, in the last night of the yeere, wafting themselues over the river at *Rhinehausen*; lye there in close ambush for such *Partees*, as should come in or out of the City. But Colonell *Horneck* (the *Swedish* Governoar of *Spiers*) having an inckling of their forces and lodg-ing, sets unawares upon them first: kills eight; wounds ten; takes 18 prisoners; drives a many into the river, and compells all to get them packing.

The actions about *Spiers*.

To beginne the *New yeere* withall, was the strong towne of *Manheim*, (yea the strongest of all the *Palatinate*) there

feated upon the *Rhine*, where the river *Neckar* flowes into it; by a pretty *Stratageme* surprised on this manner. Duke *Bernhard* of *Saxon-Weymar* upon *New-yeeres* day at night, goes out with well-neere 500 men after him. The plot was so laid, that he might come to the Ports of *Manheim* an houre or two before day-light the next morning. There hee pretended to come in great haste, naming himselfe to be a Commander of some towne of their side; that having beene out upon a Partee that night, was thus beaten in thither by the *Swedish*, who were now even ready to fall upon his Reere, as he fained. This was the tale he told to the Guards and Sentinels at the gate; desiring for Gods sake to be let in presently. Being beleaved and admitted; hee cuts in pieces the next Court of guard, and to be briefe, kills well-neere 300 of the garrison: layes hold upon *Maravelli* the *Governour*, and his Lieutenant-*Colonell*; giving quarter to none but to the *Germanes*. *Maravelli* having (after a while) paid his ransome, must needs pay for his folly too; which going afterwards into *Heidleberg*, he did: having his whole head there stricken off, for the fault committed onely by his eares; which had, indeed, beene too credulous in a trust of so much consequence.

Heidleberg and
Franckendale
blockt up.

And thus became *Heidleberg* and *Franckendale* to be blockt up: the townes were by this time taken round about them, and the Kings horse every where laid upon the passages. The garrisons, indeed, were very strong in both of them; by reason so many had thrust in thither, that had beene turned out of other places. And yet this blocking up being not strickt enough; these 2 garrisons, together with that of *Vdenheim*, stealing out sometimes; did much mischiefe ever and anon among the neighbour villages. There was reported to have beene a dissencion within *Heidleberg*, betwixt the *Spaniſh* and the *Bavarian* souldiers. Certaine it is, that many Ensignes of the *Bavarians* shortly after this forsooke their garrison, and went and put themselues into *Vdenheim*. About this time also, was much of that goodly Castle of *Heidleberg* set on fire; either by the mischiefe, or by the negligence of the souldiers.

I must

I must for brevities sake here omit the taking of the strong Castle of *Brunsfels* (which is indeed something out of the way) into which I told you, that the garrison of *Fridberg* went. The taking of the strong Castle of *Stein* in the *Bergstraes* must also be passed over; as likewise some other actions about *Strasburg*, and *Zabern*: for I undertake not to relate every victory of the Kings, but the famousest only.

And here are we to turne the *Scene*: to leaue our discourse of warres for a while; and to acquaint you with the treaties and overtures of a peace, desired by the *Catholikes*.

His Maiesy, you may observe, had not beene personally abroad in the field (or not much) since his comming into *Mentz*: where his time was chieflye taken up, with giving of *Audience* and *Answers*, unto those many Ambassadors which there waited upon him. There were the severall Ambassadors of *France*, of the 3 Spirituall *Electors*, (the Bishops of *Mentz*, *Triers*, and *Cullen*) and the Ambassador of him too that writes himselfe Elector, the Duke of *Bavaria*. The chiefe busynesse of all these Ambassadors, was but one and the same *negociation*: to importune the King, namely, for a faire *Neutrality* for the *Catholike Leaguers*; and if a *Truce* could not be obtained, yet to procure a *Cessation of Armes* (or *Still-stand*) at the least, whilst the conditions were a sending vnto the *Leaguers*. The potentest mediators (and indeed the earnestest) were the two *French* Ambassadors; one of which (*Charnace*) was reported to have spoken in some high language unto the King; and to have mentioned the greatnessse and power of his Master, and the Army that he had now on foote. Vnto this, the King was said to have returned as couragious an answer: That he confessed the greatnessse of his Master; and yet if the *French* King would but give him a dayes march before him, he would meeke him at *Paris*. It was spoken also, that one of the Ambassadors should have obiected unto the King, his breach of the league betwixt his Master and Him; namely, by his comming over the *Rhine*: and that the King of *Sweden* should have answered that againe, with breach of Articles on

the *French* side; in his failing of some payments agreed upon. But whereas (sayes the King) two Armies will never agree well together in *Germany*; better therefore it were, that his Maiesy of *France* would be pleased to turne his Armes against the *Spaniards*, somewhere else: and leave the correction of what is amisse in the Empire unto my self. And thus (or somewhat this way) became this controversie compounded: and the *French* King did indeed send halfe his Army (which was at that time about *Metz* in *Lorrain*) into the Elector of *Triers* his Country; to keepe the *Spaniards* from passing over the *Mosel*, or encroaching upon that *Electorate*. And thus the former Ruffing being fairely over-smoothed againe; the Ambassadours returned with more mildnesse, to the sollicitation of their former busynesse. Thus the King of *Sweden* for his *Colleague* and brother of *France* his sake, was drawne to consent unto the *Neutralitie*, upon these termes following: which himselfe, in wisedome, caused to be published, for feare lest some cunning adversaries should for their honours and advantages, have scattered abroad false copies and rumors of them. Which for all that, was done notwithstanding. The true Copy whereof we here at large affoord you, as we have it out of the Latine.

Here followeth the true *Articles* of the *Neutralitie*.

With which I also forewarne my Reader, not to give credit unto other Copies of these *Articles*, many having been dispersed. And in particular, those 2 Copies in *Gallobelgicus*, pagg: 91. & 92. which be both false. As those of his likewise pag. 105. concerning the *Neutralitie* with *Cullen*.

HIS Sacred Majesty of *Sweden*, taking speciall notice of the desire which the Duke of *Bavaria* and the *Catholike Leaguers* have for obtaining a *Neutralitie*; although by their making themselves partyes with the *Empour*

perour in the Warres, they had deserved nothing of him but hostilitie : yet upon the earnest intercession of the *most Christian King* presented by his Ambassadours ; and to testifie withall his owne brotherly affection unto him : he is contented to conclude the *Neutralitie*, upon these following conditions.

1.

Let this *Neutralitie* be religiously and inviolably kept with The true A
his sacred Majestic of *Sweden*, his Kingdomes, Dominions and Subjects, as well those that are hereditary to him, as those
that have in *Germany* * beene conquered by him : as also with his Confederates, the Electors, Princes, Nobles, Cities, Com-
mon-wealthes, Communalties and States, and with the Ele-
ctor of *Saxony* in particular ; by the Duke of *Bavaria* and *Franconia* ;
his Associates the Catholike Princes and States of *Germany* : had incorpo-
who shall also give sufficient Caution unto His Majestie for the sure keeping of it.

2.

Let the said Duke of *Bavaria* and the Catholike Princes of *Germany* his Confederates, forbear all acts of injury and ho-
stilitie ; both towards His sacred Majestic of *Sweden*, his Ar-
my and Dominions now in his possession ; and towards his
Confederates the *Evangeliacall* Electors, Princes, Earles, No-
bles, Cities, Communalties, States, and all other *Evangeliacall*
Professors of what condition soever : and let them not by
their Souldiours be troublesome hereafter unto them in their
Dominions, upon any pretext whatsoever ; nor suffer them
to be disturbed by any forces of the Emperours.

3.

Let the Duke of *Bavaria* and the said Catholike Princes of *Germany*, as many as are of the *League*, restore unto the *E-
vangeliacall* Princes and States of what condition soever, all
and singular Strengths, Fortresses, Castles, Cities, Territories
and Countryes how many soever, which in all the time of
this Warre, begun in the yeere 1618, they have taken and
kept from the *Evangelicks* in the *lower Saxony* : and leave
them

them in the same state they were in, before the beginning of the Warre.

4.

Let the Duke of *Bavaria*, with the Catholike Princes of *Germany* his Confederates, withdraw all their Armyes out of the Countryes of the *Evangeliacall* Electors, Princes, and States, so soone as may be; sending for the Souldiours into their owne Territories.

5.

Let the Army of the Duke of *Bavaria*, and of the Catholike Princes of *Germany* his Confederates, be reduced to the number of 10000 or 12000 men: all the rest being presently cashiered. Which Army, let it be distributed and enquartered here and there among the Cities and proper Dominions of the said Princes, and not be kept together in one entire Body.

6.

The Duke of *Bavaria* and his Associates, the said Catholike Princes of *Germany*, shall not with the said Souldiours (being either cashiered or distributed among their Territories) give assistance either openly or under-hand, unto the Emperour or any other Prince, enemy unto His sacred Majestie of *Sweden*.

7.

Nor let the Duke of *Bavaria* and his Confederates the Catholike Princes of *Germany*. give leave unto the House of *Austria* or any other whatsoever enemy of His sacred Majestie of *Sweden*; to raise souldiours, appoint places of Muster or Rendezvous, buy up Armes, or make any other Military provisions within their Dominions: but let them every where observe an inviolate and sincere *Neutralitie*.

8.

Let all their Passages be without deceit either open to either party, or shut up, as it shall be agreed upon: provided it be without all injury and damage unto the owner.

9.

His sacred Majestie of *Sweden* with his Confederates in like

like manner, shall in no wayes offend the Duke of *Bavaria*, nor any Prince or State of the *Catholike League*, whose Dominions he is not yet Master of; excepting onely the Bishop of *Bamberg*: nor shall hee lay any other kinde of Military impositions upon them: but shall keepe and observe a sincere ^{The Bishop of Bamberg exceeded out of the Treaty.} Neutralitie with them.

10.

All those places of the *Lower Palatinate* whatsoever, now taken away from the Duke of *Bavaria*, will His sacred Majestie restore unto the said Duke of *Bavaria* againe; untill by the mediation of the Kings of *Great Britaine* and of *France*, there be some friendly composition made betwixt the Duke and the Prince *Palatine*; for which some short day shall be appointed. So likewise will his Majestie restore unto the Archbishops of *Triers* and ^{* By the Landgrave of Hessen in Cullens Bishopricke of Paderborn.} *Cullen*, whatsoever places are taken from them: the Citie of *Spiers* and the places now remaining unto it, being ^{* Salvâ civitatis Spirensi, sibi quod relicto.} left entyer unto it selfe.

11.

All other countryes and places of the *Catholike Princes* and *States* (besides those forenamed) already possessed by His sacred Majestie: shall not the Duke of *Bavaria*, nor the *Catholike Princes of Germany* his Confederates, make demand of againe in any kinde; either by themselves or by others: but shall leave them in His Majesties hands untill some generall Treatie.

12.

All *States*, *Princes*, *Earles*, *Nobles*, *Cities* and *Communalties* *Evangeliacall* whosoever will, may be under the protection of His sacred Majestie of *Sweden*: nor shall they to the prejudice of the said protection be disturbed any manner of way, either directly or indirectly, by the said *Catholike Princes of Germany*.

13.

Let all Commerce with his sacred Majesty of *Sweden*, his Subjects and *Evangeliacall Confederates* on the one party; and with the Duke of *Bavaria* and the *Catholike Princes of*

I

Germany

Germany his confederates on the other party ; be free and open every where, and no wayes hindered.

14.

Let all prisoners on both sides be delivered without ransom, and in particular, let the Administrator of Magdenburg taken by Tilly, be forthwith set at libertie, without prejudice.

15.

For the better securitie shall the most Christian King of France engage his Royall word, that the Duke of Bavaria, and all other Catholike Princes, States, and Cities of Germany his Confederates, shall religioustly observe this Neutralitie in all the Articles of it : which if they shall infringe ; then shall hee declare himselfe for his sacred Majestie of Sweden, and fall with all his power upon the violaters, untill he hath compell'd them unto satisfaction.

The Articles beeing delivered unto the Ambassadours, were with all *post-hast*, to be dispeced away unto the severall Princes whom they concerned : and till such time as their answers could be brought backe againe (provided it were within 14. dayes) a Cessation of armes was also assented unto by the King for his partie ; and undertaken for by the Ambassadours, for the Princes and Armies on their partie. The King therefore to shew his sincere meaning, thus signifies his pleasure unto his Generals and Lieftenants wheresoever.

Gustavus Adolphus by the Grace of God King of the *Swedes, &c.*

The King's
Letters to his
Lieftenants for
Truce.

Right trustie and wellbeloved, &c. Wee will not conceale from you, how that the King of France hath made a kinde brotherly sute unto Vs, by his Ambassadours, for a Neutralitie betwixt Vs, and the Elector of Bavaria and the Catholike League. Forasmuch as Wee have thereupon framed certaine Articles, and delivered the same to the said Ambassadours, who have promised to bring Vs within the space of foureteene dayes a plaine declaration and confirmation thereupon ; And in the meane while by vertue of their power to take order, That Pappenheim shall forthwith withdraw himselfe

himselfe with his troopes out of *Westphalia* and the Bishopricke of *Magdenburg*: And likewise, That the forces of the Electors of *Bavaria* and of the *Catholike League*, should forthwith be called and drawne out of *Bohemia*, if any there should bee. For this reason, and for the furtherance of such a worke, and to gratifie withall our said good brother the King of *France*: Wee have thought good to yeeld them so small a time, and to abstaine from all hostilitie, during the said foureteene dayes, against the said *Catholike League* and the Duke of *Bavaria*: If so bee that (according to the said promise) they doe behave themselves in like manner; withdraw their forces, and use no hostilitie against Vs. Whereof Wee doe hereby give you notice: and withall doe will and command you, Forthwith to publish this said Cessation of armes for foureteene dayes, throughout the armie which you doe command, (to which end Wee have dispatched this Trumpet unto You) And thereupon to ceafe and abstaine from all hostilitie, pillage, robbing, and other deeds of enmitie, against the said Elector of *Bavaria* and the *Catholike League*, and during the said time to remaine quiet. But yet Wee have expressly excepted (as the said Ambassadours doe know) and Wee doe intend, That such Townes, Places and Castles which are now by Vs besieged and blocked up, shall so remaine besieged and blocked up: And that the besieged shall have liberty during the said time, to treat, conclude, and compound with Vs; to deliver up the said places, and to depart from thence according to the agreement that shall be made with them. This you are to observe, and to governe your selfe accordingly. And if some one or other place be at this present by you besieged or blocked up, you are by no meanes to remove or depart from the same, but rather to continue & finish the designe, with all your best endeavors; As being a thing no wayes contrary unto the said Cessation of armes by Vs graunted, &c. Given at *Hoest* the 10 of *Ian. 1631.*

These Letters of the Kings were (as you may perceive) dated at *Hoest* betwixt *Mentz* & *Franckford*: through which His

Majestie now went towards *Hanaw*, there to meeete with his Royall *Consort* the Queene of *Sweden*, whom for twentie moneths before he had not scene ; that is, not since his comming out of *Sweden*. Of her Majesties arrivall at *Wolgast* in *Pomerland*, wee told you in our *First Part*. Her Majestie therefore having in the beginning of Winter parted from that place to follow her Lord ; and having since that passed away the time in *Leipsich*, *Dresden* and *Erfurt*, (at which last place shce was by agreement to have her residence :) arrived this very Tuesday night *Jan. 10.* at *Hanaw* aforesaid. The Queene (as tis reported) at first meeting taking her Lord in her armes, *Now, saith Shee, you are my prisoner.* Which pleasantnesse of hers was turned into earnest, by that time it came into *England* : divers of those that would have had it so, confidently here giving it out, *That the King of Sweden was taken prisoner.*

But let us take notice how the *Truce* was observed, in these 14 dayes *interim*, by those that so much desired it : surely the King was not well used, either by *Bavaria*, *Pappenheim*, the Duke of *Newburg*, or the Archbishop of *Triers* his subiects.

As for the cunning Duke of *Bavaria*, verily beleeved it is, that he meereley made use of the authority and favour of the French King in procuring of it; never purposing to accept of such conditions as the *French* Ambassadors thought convenient for him : the maine of his policy being to gaine time by the Duke of *Bavaria*; by it, and to make these three advantages (among the rest) of it.

1. To set forward his own preparations (which hee never intermitted) whilst the King should leave off his prosecutions.

2. That the *Archducheffe* forces, (whom he had now intelligence to be upon their march) might in this time get over the *Mosel* into the *Palatinate* to entertaine the King there; that so himselfe might not as yet be lookt after. This plot tooke

3. That he might in the meane time get the better termes of the Emperor, for feare he should fall off, or become New-

the Queen
comes unto the
King.

The Neutrality
is observed

by the Duke of
Bavaria;

yer:

ter: unto whom at this very present he had dispatched an *Ambassador*. The contents of whose Ambassage we will (as we received it) communicate unto you afterwards; namely, where we relate the Dukes own Story, at the end of the *Generall Tillyes Proceeding*.

The Emperor esteeming (as it appeares) *Bavaria* more likely to serue his turne, then *Wallenstein*; gave such satisfaction unto that Duke, as he was presently accepted of, and *Wal-enstein*s imployment for a while went on the more slowly: which affront how so vast and haughty a spirit as *Walsteins* would put up, let time discover. This was the use that *Bavaria* made of this treaty of *Neutrality*.

And as for the Earle of *Pappenheim*; he either had no notice of this *Truce* at all; or no purpose to take notice of any. For though he withdrew (indeed) his troopes out of *Magdenburg*; yet was it not before he had spoyled it the second time. Nor were his forces utterly drawne out of *Westphalia*: hee playing *Rex* about the latter end of the *Truce* in the Duchy of *Lunenburg*, the furthest corner of *Westphalia*. Yea so late it was ere he stirred out of the Bishopricke of *Magdenburg*, that the King was upon his march as farre as *Gelnhausen* (some 5 leagues to the North-East of *Hanau*) to have gone against him, as it was reported.

Pappenheim
obserues not
the *Truce*,

Neither in the Archbishoprick of *Triers* was there a sincere nor those of *Neutrality* obserued: seeing the *Spaniards* in the *Truce* time *Triers* had ready passage thorow that Countrey. The Archbishop Elector himselfe, seemed, and was too, most glad of this *Neutrality*: and no wayes, perchance, consenting for his part to this Passage of the *Spaniards*: he having before this put himselfe under the *French* Kings protection. Both which observations we may collect out of this his following letter of *Declaration*, written from his strong Castle of *Hermanstein*, unto the City of *Triers* and the rest of his subiects, as here followeth.

I cannot conceale from your Honors, how graciously it The Elector hath pleased Almighty God of late, to deliver both our selues *Triers* letter upon the *Neutrality*, and Bishoprick, from our apparent, cruell and terrible enemy,

the King of *Sweden*; as in like manner also from that most lamentable and *vn-christian* persecution, exercised upon us by the *Spaniards*; which deliverance hath beene occasioned by meanes of the Duke of *Bavaria*: who by the well-meaning and heroicall mediation of his Maiesty of *France*, hath not onely agreed upon a *Neutralitie* with the said King of *Sweden* for the said Duke, but for others also. In which matter Our selues have not beene negligent; but have by the mediation of the said King obtained, that both *Wee* and our *Archbishopricke* are now declared to be *Neutral*: by which meanes, may the Princes of the Empire in generall, and your selues in particular; be freed both from the *Swedish* and the *Spaniſh*. To the end therefore that this *Neutralitie* may inviolably be kept, both for Our good, and Our subiects; the said King of *France* (as *Interponent*) hath offered his assistance royall: and for the remooving of all incumbrances from us, hath promised (if need were) to bring his Army into the Empire. Take comfort therefore, give God thanks, and pray unto him, that the promise may be seconded by the performance; and that this heauy punishment now lying upon us, may thereby be remoued. Your care in the meane time it must also be, that those daily insolencies and persecutions committed upon us by the *Spaniards*, may for the time to come be resolutely put by, and their yoke shaken off effectually. For this purpose shall you cause this *Neutralitie* in all places to be proclaimed: after which if any notwithstanding shall persecute us (as in the diocese of *Mentz* it hath hapned:) or if upon occasion and pretence of *Spaniſh* assistance, our *Archbishoprick* should fall into the hands of the *Swedes*: Our selues shall remaine guiltlesse of the matter; and the occasioners shall be bound to answer for the same, unto God, the *Pope*, and all *Christian* Potentates.

Hermanstein, January 14. 1631.

Signed underneath

Philipus Christofer.

Together with this *Declaration*, were these 4 Articles following, propounded unto the City of *Triers*; as being the *Neutralitie* off termes upon which the *Neutralitie* must be obtained from the King of *Sweden*.

The Articles
Neutralitie
off
Triers.

1.

The passage ouer the *Rhine* at the bridge of *Coblents*, to be granted unto the King.

2.

The strong Fort of *Hermanstein*, with all the Ordnance, &c. This Fort (which is the Archbishops Palace) stand on the other side of the *Rhine*, right over against *Coblents*, iust *Lambeth* hou is against *W*minster.

3.

The souldiers there in garrison, to take the oath of fidelity to his said Maiesy.

4.

A reasonable competent summe of money to bee contributed by the countrey, towards the payment of the Kings souldiers.

But the City of *Triers* would in no wise accept of these conditions; but immediately called in the *Spaniards* thereupon unto their assistance; granting passage withall unto as many as would, over their bridge, to march into the *Palatinate*. Thus beganne the *Spaniards* to incorporate the chiefe townes of the Archbishoprick, the people siding with them against their owne Prince the Elector. So, notwithstanding that the former letter were wisely written unto them; both for making of them sensible of the *Spanish* insolencies (as he termes them;) and to prepare them withall for entertaining of the *French* forces: yet had the *Spaniards* so great a power and faction in the Country, and in the *Archiepiscopall Chapter* of the *Church* of *Triers* likewise; that they procured so much bandying amongst the Clergy against their Archbishop; as neere they went, afterwards, of depriving him. And had not the *French* army (under the command of the Marshall *De la Force*) presently strucke in upon it; both Bishop and Bishoprick had beene in danger, to have at once beene swallowed up by the *Spaniſh*.

The

The Elector perceiving his former letters to doe no good among his subiects; sends forth his second *Proclamation* for the ridding of the *Spaniards* out of his Countrey: dated the fourteenth of *February* following.

the Elector of
Siers his Pro-
clamation a-
inst the
Spaniards,

namely, when
Rhinegrave
like Boppart:
ich is within
leagues of
Coblentz.

Ehrenbreitstein
castle, is the
one with Her-
nstein Castle.

VHereas so much is by this time apparent, as the most Reverend and Illustrious Prince *Philippus Christofer*, Elector, &c. hath timely enough heretofore misdoubted, how that the enquarterings of the *Spaniards*, and the offering of their service in his *Archbishoprick*, would minister occasion unto the King of *Sweden*, to draw neerer and neerer unto the country, (some of them, indeed, having already very neere approached unto his towne of *Coblentz*) and that his Electorall Highnesse was afraid thereby to be bereaved of succours convenient for his Castle of *Ehrenbreitstein*; in regard that on the one side, the *Spaniards* had already made themselues Masters of the chiefe Quarters and Passages; and that on the other side, the *Swedish* had thereby beene invited into those places: to prevent therefore all further mischief, it was by his said *Electorall* Highnesse at this time required, That all and every *Spanish* officers of what condition soever, shall immediately with all their troopes march foorth of his *Archbishopricke*; some reasonable satisfaction being by them given unto his subjects, for the damages susteyned by them. His Highnesse can see no cause or reason, why hereafter hee should accept of any Orders or Commanders, (contrary unto the *Constitutions* of the Empire) either from the *Spanish* or *Imperiall* *Commissaries*: hee well trusting to bee as able now, as heretofore he hath beene, to keepe up and maintaine his owne Forts and passages: provided, that his meanes were no longer dreynd away, his necessary succours hindered, and his passages not encumbred. If therefore after all this warning, the *Swedish* party (now growing daily stronger both in Horse and Foot,) should come to assault the said *Spanish* or *Imperiall* forces; or his own subjects driven into despaire, shoud fall foule upon them: his *Electorall* Dignity hereby protesteth him selfe

selfe innocent in the matter ; and to stand excused for it, by this his faire and friendly admonition. And thus much hath his Highnesse thought good to publish, for every mans direction.

As for the Duke of *Newburg*, though he as yet personally did nothing against this *Neutralitie* ; yet he afterwards suffered *Tilly* to take his towne of *Newburg* in *Bavaria*, and then sent his Ambassador to the King, to iustifie that it was not against the *Neutralitie*.

Thus have wee seene how badly this *Neutralitie* was observed : and had it not by much importunity beeene wrested from the King, *Heidleberg* and *Franckendale* (tis verily beleaved) had beeene his own; and *Cullen* too, perchance, after that: *Gustavus Horn* might by that time likewise, have made himselfe Master of *Forcheim*, and then might *Tilly* have cast his cap at him. Nor would *Hessen*, *Lunenburg*, *Todt*, *Bremen*, and *Banier*, have suffered *Pappenheim* so freely to have roaved up and down at his own pleasure: nor had the *Spaniards*, finally, so quietly advanced themselues over the *Mosell*. But the *French* Kings honour then lay upon it ; he to retaine the opinion of still being a *Catholike*, must needes doe something for that Religion ; and the King of *Sweden* out of an abundant goodness of nature, knew not how to deny such his importunity. These inconveniences, doe wise men suffer themselues to be sometimes put unto by their Friends ; even after they have warned those Friends, of their foresight of these inconveniences. Thus came this Treaty of *Neutralitie* unto a meere nothing; the onely advantage which the King of *Sweden* made of it, was the resting and refreshing of his Army: which is a duty of nature that all men owe vnto their bodies. For though the *affections* and *otions* of the *Soule* ; be (like the *Soule* it selfe) *restlesse* and *Spirituall*: yet were it extremity of injustice, to exact so much labour and continuance of a corpulent and restive body, which is but mortall; as the *Soule* were willing at all times to require of it, which is vntireable by being immortall. Turne we from *Words* now, vnto *Deeds* againe.

What hopes
the King of
Sweden lost,
by yeelding to
this *Truce*.

The King returns into Franckford.

Jan. 20. towards evening, his Majesty of Sweden returns with his Queen into Franckford: which was some 4 dayes before the expiring of the Truce. No sooner were they out, but the Rhinegrave falls upon Kirckberg in the Hunsruck, and takes it in by assault; where 147 Italians and Burgundians were put to the sword: 100 Germanes requited the saving of their lives, by becomming the Kings souldiers. The Germanes (we are to know) are every where spared: the delivery of their nation, being the thing that the King professeth to come for, into Germany.

In this time of the Truce, had 10000 Spaniards with long and continued marches gotten out of the Low-Countries, up to the river of Mosel; and had already passed betwixt three and 4000. men: the two Regiments, namely, of the Count of Nassau, and Torquato. The Rhinegrave thereupon drawing all his forces out of Boppart, Overmesel, and other places in the Duchy of Simmern, and country of Triers; sets amaine upon these 2 Regiments: whereof one he utterly overthrew, and defeated by forcing the other to retire into the fastnesse of a wood. Here the Rhinegrave. were 7 Colours obtained, and afterwards presented vnto the King at Mentz: and about 3 dayes after, Rit-Master Humes a Scottish man, brings in the eighth. The Spaniards resolving not to put it up so; suddenly passe over 1800 horse, and disposing one Foot-Regiment in close ambush; with the rest of their strength, tempt the Rhinegrave unto the encounter. He hoping of the former fortune, though he had but 600 horse in all with him: lost in the cloze of the busynesse some 300 men; himselfe and all the rest being put to the retreat, and the young Earle of Nassau of Sarbrucken left behind him, wounded and taken prisoner. The Spaniards after this, advanced more boldly thorow the Hunsruck; and so onwards towards Franckendate. But newes being Febr. 4. brought unto the King at Franckford, of the Spaniards second passing of the Mosel, and of the Rhinegraves defeate; his Majesty with all speed passes unto Mentz, to goe after his Army: which upon the first hearing of the Spaniards comming, had beene sent onwards

They defestate the Rhinegrave againe.

wards towards the *Mosel*. The Horse which lay enquartered along the *Bergstraes*, had beene set over the *Rhine* by *Oppenheim*: some Regiments of Foot having order presently to passe downe the stremme of the same river, towards *Baccharah*. Of the neere approaching of these forces, and of the Kings coming after them, the *Spaniards* now hearing; voluntarily and comming a-
of themselves, retire over the *Mosel*, backe againe into *Luxemburg*. And here they containe themselves from comming over againe, vntill *Easter* following: at which time they heard the King to be utterly gone out of the *Palatinate*.

And now begins the valiant Duke *Bernard of Saxon-Weymar*, to employ his time and forces, against the remnants of the Electorate of *Mentz*: by taking whereof, that whole Country became universally subiect unto the King of *Sweden*. The remain-
of the Bishop
ricke of Me-
taken.

Vpon Thursday Febr. 9. was the Count of *Isenberg* (as I take it) sent to reprise *Babenhausen*: which Towne and Castle, *Tilly* had before taken from the Count of *Hanaw*. Vpon the sight now of 50 *Swedish* Rutters or Horsemen, and assurance of more forces that followed; the garrison came to composition, and yeelded to the Count of *Isenberg*. The King restores it vnto the Count of *Hanaw*.

The better to keepe the Country towards the *Mosel* hereafter, the King resolues upon the taking of *Creuzenach*, a faire towne of the *Palatinate* upon the river *Nau*; in the very Frontiers of the Duchy of *Simmern*, and belonging vnto Prince *Lodowick Philip* Duke of *Simmern*, brother to the Elector *Palatine*. Vnto this worke whilst the King was a preparing, his Maiesty of *Bohemia*, *Fredericke Prince Elector Palatine*, timely and safely there arrived. His Maiesty was waited upon by my Lord *Craven*; and had beene lovingly accommodated by the Lords the *States Generall* for such a iourney, and honourably convoyed at their command with 2500 horse, which waited upon his Maiesty out of the *Low-Countries*, till he had passed all the danger. This Prince passing thorough *Hessen*, *Hanaw*, and the *Wetteraw*; recovered into *Franckford* by Friday 10 a clocke, Febr. 10. going the next day unto

the King of *Sweden* then at *Hoest*; betwixt whom there was a most loving interview. The 2 Kings and Queene of *Sweden*, returned in all faire manner the same evening, into *Franckford*. Sunday next (being *Shrove-Sunday*) he was royally feasted by both their Maiesties of *Sweden*; who at every word gave him the Stile of *King of Bohemia*: which respect the young Landgrave of *Darmstat* once omitting, (whose Father had beene no good neighbour to this Elector) the King of *Sweden* expressed much displeasure at him for it. Wonderfull welcome was this Prince unto his owne subiects of the *Palatinate*, who every way ranne out to see his Maiesty, with infinite expressions of ioy and contentation; with many a hearty pray-
er, and teare, and high sounding acclamation. The King of *Sweden* (tis said) in one of their first discourses, told the King of *Bohemia*, of the enemies great strength, and the difficulty himselfe had thereupon; to hold the countries which he had already overrunne: and that he was constrained therefore, to keepe many and strong garrisons in the townes of the *Palatinate*. But this he assured his Maiesty withall, that he desired nothing more, then to be able to restore it wholly vnto him; and to see him once againe well settled in it.

These entertainements being overpassed; the King of *Sweden* strives to prevent the Spring, by bringing an earlier shew of *Colours* into the field, then *Flora* had yet put forth any. Vpon Thursday Febr. 16. he first sets forward from *Franckford* to *Mentz*, and so onwards towards *Creutzenach*: the King of *Bohemia* following, and lying at *Oppenheim*. Before the Kings arrivall at *Creutzenach*, had the Boores of the Country taken up all the passages upon the hills, and kept a very orderly watch against the enemies in the towne: thus shewing their love and diligence to doe some service for their new-come Prince. On Saturday Febr. 18. the King first presented a small army of 1800 foot, some few troopes of horse, and 4 halfe Cannons, before the town; because he supposed to make but an easie worke of it. This towne is situated 5 little *Dutch* miles from *Mentz*, and 10 from *Franckford*; in as pleasant and rich

rich a soyle, as any of the *Palatinate*. The river *Nau* or *Nah*, runnes thorow the midst of it ; which beeing crossed by a Bridge, betwixt two Market places, gives name unto the Towne : *Creutzenach*, signifying *Crossing the Nah*. A faire Castle it hath upon the hill, which before these Warres was a dwelling house onely : the loftie situation giving it the command over the Towne. Both Towne and Castle had some 600 men in garrison : whereof one halfe almost were *Germanes*, and the rest *Wallons* and *Burgundians*. They had a Magazine of bread and wine, for twelue moneths provision. The first view the King tooke of the Towne, was upon the lowest side ; and where he had thought to have begun : but that he found so well fortified with Outworkes, Seconds, and Retreats, one worke within another, that he call'd them the *Divels workes*. He quickly discovered, that there was no attempting that way : yea judged by the best souldiours it was, that it could not have beene a businesse of lesse then a fortnight or three weekes time, to have mastered all these works, and so to have come at the Towne. Altering his course therefore, and deviding his little Army into two parts, hee by faire day light brings them on by another side, and lodges them within Musket shot, or 150 pases of the very walles : yea Lieutenant Colonell *George Douglass* (a brave souldiour then newly come up to the King) having first runne his lines, sets himselfe downe with some three hundred men, (the most of them being the same *Scottish* that had stormed *Oppenheim Castle*) even in the very Port. Here lay *Douglass* all the night following : notwithstanding the place were so hot, that the enemy kill'd him some 47 men, with their shooting upon him ; both from the walles, and Port aboue him.

On Sunday, the King tooke a full view of the Castle on the lands side ; which he found to be regularly and modernly fortified, and so well flancked with small workes one within another, that hee called it the *Divels head*. His Majestie now finding, both Towne and Castle likely enough to dispute the matter with him ; immediatly sends to *Mentz* for more ar-

gements : whence the next day two more Regiments and all his Cannon both great and small came unto him. Two of these Cannons the King causes to be planted before the Ports: wher-with there was a breach made, thorow which the Towne was entred. Skaling ladders are immediately set unto the Breach, and divers gotten in, whereof whilst some are earnest in beating away the garrison, others are as busie with shovels and pickaxes to throw away the horse-dung from the in-side of the Sally-port, with which it had beene mured and damm'd up. This Port Lieutenant Colonell *Dowglasse* imme-diately forcing open, brings in his men that way also.

The garrison perceiving the Towne to bee wonne, runne immedately towards the Castle: fleeing so fast, that they had no time to breake downe the bridge. One thing was here ver-y remarkable and wondered at, by such strangers as were not before acquainted with the exact justice of the *Swedish Discipline*: namely, that the Kings souldiours beeing now *Masters* of the Towne, marched so civilly thorow the streets, and so quietly placed themselves in their order upon the Mar-
ket places; that no man so much as offered to stirre out of his rancke, to plunder or ransack any house or person: nor once

The civilitie of the Swedish souldiours, to knocke at a doore which they found shut. The Burgers admiring at this civilitie in the souldiours, begin to put off all feare of having their houses rifled; and after an houre and halfe (or such a matter) begin to take so much courage unto themselves, as to looke out at the windowes; and the sight of the souldiours becomming more familiar unto them, they open their doores, and with much plentie and heartinesse, unaskt; bring forth bread and wine into them; making wonderfull expressions of their joy, that they were so well rid of their overburthensome garrison; that their towne was now faine into the Kings hands; and above all, that their naturall Prince the King of *Bohemia*, was now so neere at hand with them. In signe of all freedome, were their doores set open; and di-vers Gentlemen were even invited into their houses: Yea a Commander of our Nation going into a house to write a Letter,

ter, found himselfe even disturbed with their pressing of courtesies upon him ; with urging him to eate and drinke with them ; with expressing their joy ; and with asking questions about their Prince.

The towne thus wonne, the enemy from the Castle on the hill (which hung over the towne) shot amaine into the streets, and there was Capitaine *Dowglasse* shot thorow the heart. That men might therefore goe up and downe unaym'd at, was there a Blind drawne crosse the streeete next unto the Castle. The Castle hill is very steepe ; and so neere unto the Towne, that the foot of it even touches the very houses : nor is there any wall betweene. The Castle it selfe was of no strength; it was the situation onely, and the continued works, (from the very top unto the bottom almost) which made it so strong a place. The Second view of it, was at a distance taken by the King the same Munday night ; when himselfe going prying up and downe at the foot of it, was the formost man; his great Commanders comming all hardbehind him. All this time did the Enemy out of their next workes, shoot and fling stones and firebrands amayne at him : one stone being said to have hit him upon the head, and missed but little of having brayned him. The Kings sight being naturally none of the sharpest at a distance, hee looking behind him, spies a Sergeant (whom hee very well knew) to whom hee immediately calles by his name ; Come hither Thou, such a one ; thou shalt have 100 Dollars to goe up and see what the enemy doth in the next *Traverse*, and to bring mee a perfect view of what thou there discoverest. The Sergeant did so, came downe safelly, and had his money. Being downe, the King laying himselfe along the sloape of the hill ; upon his backe almost, (that is, more upon his backe then upon his side) commands the Sergeant to come and lye upon him, and to shew him what hee had discovered. The Sergeant did so : laid himselfe so upon the King, that his backe lying upon the Kings bosome and brest, and his further arme over the Kings shoulder, (both their faces being towards the enemy) hee there points with his

The King in
some danger i
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his other hand towards the *Traverse*, to describe the enemies posture unto the King. But the Kings Judgement (which is a Curious one) being not yet satisfied ; he commands off the Sergeant, and clambers up himselfe to the very corner of that *Traverse* : where having satisfied himselfe, he at his comming downe speakes it aloud unto his army, Now will I have this Castle by to morrow five a clocke.

Instantly thereupon was there order given to begin the Approaches : and that night they brake the ground about three pikes length from the rising of the hill, under the enemies workes. A line being here runne, 80 Musketters were lodged in it before morning. The hill being stony in many places, the souldiers were faine to breake it with pickaxes ; and to climbe up that steepy place with great difficultie, scarce able to hold their feet many times. At the end of this first line, was there (the next morning) another line runne, even unto the point of a great *Ravelin* of the enemies. In this Trench, my Lord Marquesse *Hamilton* (out of his desire to satisfie and enforme himselfe) beeing something farre advanc't alone by himselfe ; was friendly advised by the King not to be so hazardous, nor to adventure his person singly, so neere unto the enemies.

The lines being by Tuesday night perfected, a myne was presently digged ; directly under the *Ravelin* aforesaid. This being the next day finished, the King caused about three a clocke in the afternoone to be sprung. The myne, tis true, sprung not altogether so cleerely forward, as it might have done, but something backwards withall ; whereby some of the souldiers passages were encumbred with loose earth and rubbish. And yet all considered, it wrought well enough : seeing it blew open the point of the said *Ravelin*, huffing up many of the Defendants into the ayre, and leaving the rest more naked and open within the worke. Hereupon was the assault given, in this following manner :

Colonell *Winckle* commanding in Chiefe over the foot ; three Captaines of his Regiment with some 350 men, and divers

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divers *English* and *French* Gentlemen voluntiers, came first into the breach: among all which, my Lord *Craven*, Lieutenant-Colonell *Talbot*, Master *Robert Marsham*, and Master *Henry Wind*, marched in the first File. The Hill was so steepe where they approached, that the enemy by darting downe of Partisans and Halberts, casting downe of great stones, flinging of Fire-brands, and rowling downe of great pieces of Timber, forced the assaylants unto a retreat. And whereas other soldiours would roundly have come running off; these onely turned aside a little under the enemies *Ravelin*, where they stood safely enough. In this first service, was Lieutenant-Colonell *Talbot* shot in the Shoulder: who being rowled downe the Hill, was fetcht off by Master *Marsham*, and led into the Towne. The King, (then at the Foote of the Hill) perceiving his men to be beaten off; call them *Pultrons*, and all to be-cowardied them: presently commanding the skaling-ladders to be in another place, set fall on againe unto the Rampier of the *Ravelin*. And heere his Majesty having taken notice of the valour of my Lord *Craven*, in a familiar and encouraging manner claps him upon the Shoulder, bidding him to goe on againe. The young Lord did so: and was the very first man, that gained up to the top; where he valiantly came to push of pike with the enemy: himselfe receiving an honorable wound with the thrust of an Halbert in his thigh; which was not found to be dangerous. Those of our *English* Gentlemen beforenamed, behaved themselves right couragioufly; being next unto my Lord *Craven*, and in the very heate of the danger. And this was the manner of the fight, for two houres together almost; the defendants bearing themselves like tall Souldiours. At last, the *High-Dutch* being in mutiny with the *Wallons* and *Burgundians*, (who were resolved to defend the place) one of the enemies began to speake of Quarter, and of Termes of yeelding: which the Lord *Craven* (who was still the formest man) wisely apprehending; reaches out his hand unto one of the enemies *Captaines*, and undertooke upon his honour to bring *Craven*.

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*A very good
service done by
the Lord
Craven.*

him to the King. The enemies Muskets hereupon gave over playing ; though the Kings ordnance (of which he had gotten two small peeces mounted from the bridge of the Town) still continued shooting. The King told the Captaine to this purpose. That hee and his fellowes had made him lose his time, had kild his men, and that they deserved but ill condicions at his hand : yet nevertheless he was contented upon their submitting to his mercy, and present laying downe of Armes, to let them goe out with bag and baggage, and with their swords ; but not with their Colours : which , saith the King, you shall leave all furled up together in one Chamber, and so march forth of the Castle. These hard conditions were consented unto : for which, the imputation must rest upon the Commanders, and not upon the souldiours ; who did their duties like tall fellowes. The King hereupon calls off his men from the assault, and sent a guard presently into the Castle. The next morning being Wednesday, Janu. 22. the King entred the place ; giving the enemyes leave to depart with their Armes and baggage, but not with their Colours : adding again this further condition, That they should not serve against him in sixe moneths , on this sidethe *Mosel* : marry if they found him on the other side, let them doe their worst and spare not. To convoy them over that River , the King now assigned them horse and carriages: where they might tell their fellowes the *Spaniards*, that it was now too late for them to come to the relief of *Creuzenach* ; which, it was given out, they would againe have passed the *Mosel* to have done. The *Germanes* tooke present pay for the Kings service.

There were lost on the Kings side, those three Captaines of Colonell *Winckles* Regiment, Lieutenant-Colonell *Talbot*, who was the very next man unto my Lord *Craven* : Captaine *Dow-gasse*, a *French* Marquesse, Brother to the Duke of *Mam-brun*, with two or three other *French* Gentlemen of quality : and of common souldiours 250. Hurt men : Colonell *Winckle* himselfe, who was shot in the foote ; my Lord *Craven*, wounded in the thigh, &c. Sir *Francis Vane*, (brother to the

Earle

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The losses on
the Kings side.

Earle of *Westmerland*) shot in the huckle bone; Master *Robert Marsham*, hurt with a Firebrand, and a large stone on the thigh; Master *Wynd*, shot in the shoulder: with some others. Captaine *Ramsye* Quarter-master to my Lord Marquesse *Hamilton*, was made Governour of the Towne. The King gave order for new fortifications, leaving 300 men in it: and directions where to have 300 more, upon occasion. The Magazine or Storehouse, he would not have opened nor meddled withall, but to be supplied onely by exchanging new for old, either of wine or victuals. The souldiours in the meane time, he wills to be fed by the Burgers. All this being done, the King returnes againe towards *Franckeford*.

By this time had Duke *Bernard of Saxon-Weymar*, taken There rest of in the residue of the Bishop of *Menz* his townes. In the Bishopricke Menz taken Duchy of *Wirtenberg*, bordering South of the *Palatinate*; *Hailbrun* with other Townes of that Duchy, the *Christmas* before. The Imperiall garrison of *Shorndorff* in January after, begins to trusle up, carrying their ordnance with them to *Diensburg*: removing their office of *Receipt* or Imperiall *Exchecker* (which had beene there settled for the paying in of the *Military Contributions*, raised out of that Some actions *Duchy*) unto *Munchen* in *Bavaria*. Many of the souldiours of the *Swedes* turned to the Kings party. *Elwang* is also taken, the garrison marching into *Dunkelspiel*; whither the *Swedes* begun presently to follow them: as resolved not to suffer an Imperialist to roost any where. Glad were the Protestants: the pressures having layne sore upon their Country, ever since the Count of *Furstenberg* had brought them under contribution.

Now began there some levyes to be made for the King, The Palatine in this Duchy, and in the lower *Alsatia*: even all the Coun- of Birkenfeld try over, from the River of *Neckar* in *Wirtenberg*, unto makes some *Strasburg* upon the *Rhine*. The Count Palatine *Christian of Birkenfeld* (of the *Palsgraves* family) whose Towne and *Honor* lyes in the little Country of the *Hunstruck*, so often heretofore mentioned, was to be their Generall.

These new levyed men, though they tooke in some smaller Market Townes as they came along to their place of Rendezvous, (which was to be about *Strasburg*) yet were they rather *robberies*; then *Warfarings*. By *Rotenburg*, a Towne in *Wirtenberg* upon the *Neckar*; they pillaged *Mule*, and the *Abby of Marchtal*: neere *Strasburg*, some sixe troopes of horse of them, and one company of foote, passe the *Rhine* upon Fryday, Feb. 10. where they drive the Imperialists out of some little Townes of *Gersheim*, and *Appenwyer*; and in revenge of the death of foure of their fellowes, they burne *Commerwyer*. They offered to take *Offenberg*, a pretty strong Towne (which was the best thing they did) but having no Ordnance to doe it withall; the Imperiall garrison rather laught at them. They spoyled the fort of *Fausenburg* (*Staufenburg* some write it) belonging to *William Marquesse of Baden*. Their Generall hearing of these Freshmens trickes of theirs, called them off presently; whereupon the next day after our *Ashwednesday*, they passe the *Rhine* at *Strasburg* againe, all to be loden with their new gotten luggage. Their Generall, the Palatine *Christian*, the next Friday, Feb. 17. going before to carry his Lady to waite upon the *Queene of Sweden* at *Franckford*; leaves his Lieutenant-Colonell to bring up the troopes after him; to be joyned with the Kings: where, no doubt, they learned better discipline. All this did but stirre up the Imperiall Commissary *Offa*, to doe the more mischiefe in those parts after they were gone. In this time, had the Count of *Hanaw* taken in the Towne of *Drusenheim*; with the two new Forts (built by the Imperialists) upon the *Rhine*. And the Towne of *Leichtenau* after that: both being neere unto *Strasburg*. This *Drusenheim*, did the King bestow upon the Count of *Hanaw* for his labour.

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To draw nearer home. At *Spiers*, were 700 new Swedish Souldiors received, which were billeted both upon the Lawyers and Fryers, as well as upon the Burgers. The first service they did, was the saving of this faire City from burning, whereunto tenne Boores of *Lauterburg* had beene hyred,

red: for which they were afterwards executed. Their second service was, the quieting of a mutiny in the City; raised by *spies*, occasion of the Spanish garrison of *Franckendale*; who upon confidence of some Correspondency in the Towne; had beeene bold to come before it: and being strengthned with their fellowes of *Udenheim* or *Philipsburg*, had well hoped to have taken in this City. But of this purpose they were defeated: and the Monks being discovered to have laid the plot with the Spanish, have Soldiers put into their Cloysters.

By this it appeares, that *Heidleberg*, *Franckendale*, and *Udenheim* were not hitherto so streightly blocked up, but that the Spanish would goe out with strong Partees now and then. And as for *Franckendale*, *Don Philip de Sylva* had by letters assured the Archduchesse, that he had both men and victualls enough to hold out a siege of nine moneths; in despite of the King of *Sweden*. Nor doe I beleieve *Heidleberg* to be in worse case. And this was the State of the *Palatinate*, and of the Kings Army, at this present.

Beleeved generally it hath beeene, that the King of *Sweden* (now after the taking of *Creutzenach*) would have put *Don Philip* to it, to make good his word. And feared by those of *Cullen* it likewise was, that he would have had a blow at them too, in the next place. But the King at this time, hearing of *Tillyes* being upon the wing againe; and that he had lately flowne upon *Gustavus Horne* about *Bamberg*: was enforced to let the Conquest of the *Palatinat*e alone for a time; to countermand his Horse, which were already upon their march to besiege *Franckendale*; and to accept of a kind of submission from those of *Cullen*. The story of which businesse, is the time now to communicate unto you.

Ferdinand the Archbishop and Elector of *Cullen*, Bishop of *Paderborn*, &c. brother to the Duke of *Bavaria*, and a prime member of the *Catholike League*; is a Prince of great meanes, and of very large Jurisdiction. He was the man that set out *Pappenheim*: to whom when the *Catholike Leaguers*

had given a Commission for a flying Army, the Elector of *Cullen* furnisheth him both with men and money, in his Dominions. He, whilst the *Swedish* tempest was yet farre off from him in *Franconia*; wisely begins to thinke how to keep it off, should the wind once blow it that way. In a bodily feare of his Bishoprick he was, and could have wisht that the Emperour had not proceeded so roundly against the *Protestants*, and so farre provoked the King of *Sweden* to repay the *Catholikes* in their own coyne againe for it: *Was there ever such an Imperiall Decree (saies Cullen) to cause all Cloysters to be restored, for which we are now losing whole Bishopricks?* About the end of October, therefore, 1631. he agrees with the States of *Cullen* for the summoning of a *Diet*, to consult together about the meanes of defence: to whom his Electorall Highnesse made this following proposition. That seeing the Empire was now brought into such a strait; there was no remedy fairely to relieve it, but for the State to agree upon a good round Subsidie. They consent to levie 200000 Dollars: with Condition, that the monies should be expended no otherwaies, then for the necessary defence of the Bishoprick; and for the paying of the souldiers, which they then agreed to have raised, over which one of the Counts of *Isenberg* was to be Generall. The money, by three even portions to be levied upon the Gentry, the Cloisters, and the severall Cities of the Bishopricke. The King of *Sweden* working downe lower towards them, this Subsidie now proved too little: whereupon in December 14 following, the Elector sets out a Briefe for the drawing of a voluntary Contribution out of the richer sort: That for Gods sake, his Mother, and Saints cause; they would give what they could spare, towards the upholding of the *Roman* religion: promising that the money so given, should be to no other purpose employed: but be put into a chest with 2 locks in the *Carthusians* Church: of which the *Prior* to have one key, and his Highnesse *Steward* the other. The Briefe he commands to be first read in every Church, and then the Copy to be set upon the Church doores.

Diet at *Cullen*

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The same day Sennight did the Towne of *Cullen* set out another Briefe something contradictory to the former; for they would have a Chest placed in the *Chamber* of their *City*, to put the Benevolence into: which was to be expended for the safety of the *City* alone.

But for all this, neither Bishop nor *City* durst longer trust vnto their own strengths: the Elector ioyning with the other *Catholike Leaguers* in sending the *Bishop of *Wartsburg* their * Who went from *Cullen* Ian. 7. 1631. common Ambassador vnto the *French King*, to desire his protection, or mediation at least, with the King of *Sweden* in their behalfe. At which very time, both the Elector had his Ambassador with the King of *Sweden*, for a *Neutrality*; and the *City* their *Agents*, that they might not be infested. The Elector being a member of the *Catholike League*; the Treaty of *Neutrality* with him came to nothing, but the towne of *Cullen* obtained their desire of *Neutrality*, upon these following Conditions.

The King of *Sweden* in his Preface to the Articles, gives The Kings Articles of *Neutrality*, with the City of *Cullen* them to know, That seeing his own Expedition into *Germany*, had principally beeene for the deliverance of the *Protestants*, from the cruell oppressions which they endured from the *Papists*, and that He very well knew, how hardly they had beeene used, euen in this *City* of *Cullen*: upon this Condition, first of all, would he condiscend unto a *Neutrality* with them; namely, that those persecutions, under whatsoever colour or pretence inflicted; should with all speed be released, and that,

1.

First, Free exercise of Religion should be granted unto them; wherein they should no wayes be hindered: and that the ordinary Processe which used every yeere to be set out by the *Ecclesiasticall Court*, for the forbidding of such Exercises of the *Protestants*, should be taken away from thenceforward.

2.

That the *Protestants* should enjoy the freedome of the *City*, and of their private *Wards* and *Companies*; and be received into

into their Colledges, equally with the *Catholikes*: and that *Act of Common-Counsaile* made some yeeres to the contrary, to be cancelled.

3.

Which former Article, is likewise to be vnderstood of the *Protestants* Children, that are borne free of the City.

4.

All liberty of trade and Commerce in the said City, shall be left as free for the *Protestants*, as for the *Catholikes*.

5.

Protestants shall not be bound to be married by *Popish* Priests.

6.

Nor shall their youth be enforced to be taught or brought up, in *Popish* Schooles.

7.

The City shall not make it selfe partaker with the Kings enemies, in any counsell or act of hostility: and shall give all ayde of Contributions unto him, and withdraw it from his enemies: whose Bills of Exchange that City shall not accept of.

8.

The City shall either grant free passage and thorow-fare, both by their towne and territories vnto both parties, (the King and his enemies) or else denie it vnto both parties.

9.

It shall be free for his Maiesties Officers and Servants, to passe and repasse thorow their Towne and Territories: and have free leave of staying there, for the dispatch of their busynesse.

10.

The City shall give way to the King to settle an *Agent* of his in their Town; who shall take care that no fraud be committed in the observation of these Articles of *Neutrality*.

11.

That vnto whosoever hath obtained of his Majesty, free liberty

berty of trafficking in the parts neere the *Rhine*, now subiect unto him: as also unto those that are subiects vnto his Maiesty, or Confederates, or that doe traffick with them; the City shall allow all manner of free and vndisturbed liberty of trading, within their said Towne and Territories.

Vpon these easie termes did the great City of *Cullen* divert their so much feared invasion; which they may thanke the Generall *Tilly* for: for had not he, at this instant, fallen on upon *Gustavus Horne*; *Gustavus Adolphus*, perchance, ere long had fallen upon *Cullen*. But now was it beleived all the Kings Campe over, (yea and feared by the King himselfe too) That the Count of *Tilly* had utterly defeated *Gustavus Horn*, and beaten him all to pieces. The story of which businesse, we will here affoord you, from the hands and relations of the Generalls on both sides; *Horn*, and *Tilly*.

Most gracious King:

I shall here rightly enforme your Maiesty, of all the proceedings at *Bamberg*. This City, though spacious, yet so open on all sides it lies; hath such slight walls about it, and so to be commanded from divers hills thereby; that my selfe and others made it a great question, whether the place were to be held or no: or whether it were possible to be so fortified, as to be fit for us to enquarter in. But the reasons for the keeping of it prevailing, (especially after we made our selues sure of the * Duke of *Weymars* succours) we thereupon gave order for the making of retrenchments; casting out to every Duke *William* Regiment, how much they were to make up. Herein the Colonels and Companies of the old Regiments, did their parts: and much better would the worke have gone on, had the Count of *Solms* his Regiment beeene used vnto labour, and not have loitered it so much. The enemy having first dressed an ambush, presented some certaine horsemen very neere unto the City, Febr. 28. betwixt 12 and one a clocke at noone: of which I being advised, gave present order for every man to be in readinesse; instantly dispatching away the Count of *Solms*

Gustavus Horn
letter to the
King, concerning the action
betwixt him &
Tilly at *Bamber*
* He meanes
Saxon-Weymar
Tilly's vancur
riers appear.

Solms unto our Horse-guards without the Towne, that they should by no meanes engage themselues in fight with the enemy. My selfe in the meane time, hastned to goe the *Round* about the Trenches ; commanding such places to be enclosed, as were yet open : and sending the Lord *Kochtitzky* withall, unto Colonel *Bauditzens* Regiment, to put themselues into readinesse ; which Regiment was in their quarters at that time within the City. But *Kochtitzky* not meeting with any of the Officers, sent the word unto Lieutenant-Colonell *Bilaw* by a horseman of the Regiment: whose message *Bilaw* mis-understanding, marched presently into the field, even very neere unto the Ambush. When I comming to the Horse-guards saw the Regiment so farre advanced, I imagined them to be in very great danger, and that they would put us all into confusion, should they be once forced to the retreat : whereupon I gave present order for them to retire againe into the Suburbs. In the meane time, (seeing none of the enemies to appeare, but a few loose horse onely, which had at first shewed themselues before the little wood neere the towne side) my selfe and the Count of *Solms*, went to give order to every horse-Regiment for their place of *Alarme* : at which instant, those horse-troopes which I had before sent over the water for discouery; came backe with newes of the enemies being at hand with his whole Army, even very close unto the City. Vpon this newes, I sent present order unto Lieutenant-Colonell *Bilaw* by the Quarrester-master of his Regiment, that he should retire himselfe behind the *Work*, which Count *Solms* his Regiment were now labouring upon; and there to stay for the safeguard of the Pioners. This my Order was executed indeed; but so late ere they went about it; that in their turning faces about to goe thither, two Regiments of the enemy charged them upon their croopes, and disordered them. At which sight, the Regiment of *Solms*, (who were to have made good their own trenches) being much affrighted and confounded ; presently quit their station thereupon. And notwithstanding that my selfe, (so soone as I was enformed of the matter) made haste with

orne prepares
r resistance.

By comes
ith his whole
rmy,

ad takes part
Horns works.

with the Count of *Solms* vnto the very place where the enemy was already fallen in; and with some few men (whom we made to turne faces about) drove the enemy quite out againe; recovered our ground, and round beset it againe with some of the Count of *Solms* and Colonell *Mufflers* Regiment: for we could not possibly so soone bring on any of the old Regiments, out of their Quarters within the City, and the other Suburbs. Yet was all this to no purpose, seeing that no sooner was my backe turned to give order for other places; but they presently left their ground againe, running at last quite over the bridge into the City: yea doe what I and their own Colonell the Count of *Solms* could, (who was now shot in the thigh) yet were we not able to make them to stand their ground a little, nor give on againe upon the enemy. Hereupon, one Foote-Regiment of the enemies, (which we iudged to be *Farenbachs*) pressed over the bridge into the Towne; whom I, with a few muskettiers of the Count of *Thurns* Regiment, (which were quickly seconded by the *Swedish* muskettiers) once againe drove off; and that with remarkeable losse on their party. Thus recovered I the bridge againe, which presently causig to be broken downe; I there disputed the point so long with the enemy, untill I could send away the drosse and baggage keepers of the Army, and had taken all our Ordnance off the Carriages, and gotten them a ship-boord.

This done, I in good order marcht off with the Infantry, the horsemen of *Bauditzens* Regiment, and the Dragooners: which last, missing their way in the darke, gat into *Kitzing* afterwards. All our Company, safely recovered into *Eltman*: at which towne passing over the bridge, I kept me on this side of the *Mayn*. The enemies Dragooners and *Crabats*, followed us a farre off; not much desiring to engage themselues with us. As for the other Regiments of our horse, who were enquaerted part on this side of the *Mayn*, and part at *Halstat* and *Kemeren*, (who likewise marched away on the North side of the *Mayn*) they having according to my direction, broken and burnt downe the bridge of *Halstat*, retired into

Horne beates them off agai

Henry Willian, Count of Solms wounded. Which wound putting him into a feaver, died in March following of at Swinford.

They get over the bridge; at Horne drives them over agai

Horne retires out of Rambel over the Mayn

eaking the
idge behind
m.

illy repaireth
e bridge, and
llowes Horn.

Horn surprises
and cuts in pie-
ces 2 Regiments
of Tillies horse.

Hasfurt. For this reason, my selfe having first broken downe the bridge at *Eltman*, drew also to that place with those troopes I then had with me; where I recollect our Army together againe; those onely excepted, which out of feare were quite runne away. But the enemy being readily furnished by the country people with timber and other necessaries, he presently caused the bridge of *Halstat* to be repaired againe: beyond which having lodged himself, with divers Regiments of horse, he the second of March againe shewed himself unto us at *Tzeitt*, a mile from *Hasfurt*. Vpon sight whereof, I immediately sent forth a troope of horse to discover the place, where it was possible for the enemy so suddenly to have passed the river, now that the bridge was broken downe. This troope brought backe 3 prisoners with them; of whom I learned, how that the enemy had come over at *Halstat* with 4 Regiments, and the manner how they were lodged. Of them I also further enquired, which way I might come to surprisethem at unawares; so that I sifted out thus much from them; That it was not very difficult for me to march thorow the woods, and-by waies, and so to come upon them. Having gotten this Intelligence, I set forwards with the Cavallery; and some 2 hours before day, gave a *Camisado* upon one of their Quarters, which was lodged by *Oberheyd* within a mile of *Bamberg*. It was the Quarter of *Planckharts* Regiment, and young *Merodi*, all which, (excepting 4 troopes which some halfe houre before were gone out upon a Convoy) I utterly ruined with fire and sword, obtaining 2 Cornets; the rest, together with the baggage, being all burned. The *Crabats* of *Tillies* horse, which lay in the head of the Quarter, so soone as ever they perceived the busynesse, betooke them to their heeles; some venturing thorow the *Mayn*, where a many of them were drowned: others betaking themselves into the mountaines; of whom divers were afterwards slayne, I getting one of their Cornets: the rest gate up to the Dragooners Quarters, in the village of *Staffelbach*; where they recovered a Church-yard environed with a very high wall. These thought I to have

have destroyed by fire, for that I had no muskettiers with me: but perceiving my selfe unlikely that way to prevaile, and that they might easily have beene relieved from other the enemies garrisons, (which were hard at hand) I was enforced to give them over, and returne againe unto our Quarters at *Hasfurt*.

The fourth of the same moneth did the enemy againe shew *Tilly* intends himselfe, neere unto *Tzeill*, about one a clocke in the afternoone; marching presently with his whole army towards *Hasfurt*: with an intent (no doubt) to revenge himselfe of the late slaughter we made of his two Regiments. Whilst therefore I sent the Scullery and Drabblers of the army away before, with the baggage & heavier luggage towards *Schweinfurt*; my selfe retired after in good order: without the losse of any one man, recovering into *Schweinfurt* also. Here having given order for all necessary provisions, and left there in garrisons the Regiments of *Carl Hord*, of Colonel *Truchses* and the Count of *Solms*: and lodged the Horse conveniently in the villages about *Schweinfurt*; (some, halfe a mile off; some, a mile; and some, a mile and a halfe from the Town, and behind it) my selfe with the rest of the Infantry, tooke up our Quarter at *Gelterfheim*; attending there the enemies further purposes.

Gelterfheim, March. 7. 1631.

Having thus by *Gustavus Horns* relation, learned what was done on his side; we will also affoord you the other part of the action, and what was done on *Tillyes* side. And that out of his owne Relation too, printed afterwards at *Anspurg*: leaving nothing out that may make for the Relaters glory.

After the Swedish had taken *Bamberg*, February 11. 1631. General *Tilly* report of the same action.
the Lord Marshall *Gustavus Horn*, together with *George Bernard* Duke of *Saxon-Weymar*, settled their Quarter in the same City. But long they here stayed not: for his Excellency

Observe that Iornes letter eares the old tile; and *Tilly* the new. *Tilly* (againe) as deceived:it as not Duke *Bernard of Weymar*, (he was now with the King:) but his brother *Ernestus*

celency the Count of *Tilly* marching with 12000 men out of *Forcheim*, March 8. towards *Bamberg*; the same night about 4 a clocke he shewed himselfe before the same City; as likewise the *Swedish* Cavallery did unto him, neere unto the gal- lowes. The *Tillyish* Horsemen stood not long considering upon the matter, but the *Crabats*, the Dragoones, and the Regiment of *Cronenberg*, fell with such fury upon the *Swedish*, that they utterly dispersed them; forced five Regiments to runne away; tooke five hundred prisoners (amongst which were some chiefe Officers) killing a great many. The *Swedish* retired themselves into the Suburbs, but they were so followed with our Ordnance, that they were glad to leave both City and Suburbs: *Gustavus Horn* with a few horsemen, be-taking himselfe into *Schweinfurt*. Here was the noble Count of *Sultz* slaine on our side, besides another Lieutenant-Colonell of great note. The next day being the ninth of March, the Generall *Tilly* entered into the City with his Ordnance.

By comparing these two relations together, you may obserue, that *Gustavus Horn* omits his losse of 500 prisoners; and Generall *Tilly* is content to passe over his losse of the two Regiments, which was 4 times so much. One thing is defective in *Tillyes* relation: that he saies *Horn* immediately retired into *Schweinfurt*: which was not till 3 or 4 dayes after. *Tilly* had the better of it, in that he put *Horn* unto the retreat, and continued after it, Master of the field.

And yet was all this but a meere *Cascade*, a *Squirt*; as the King calld it: which was, for all that, the first action of any considerable honor or comfort, which those of that party could cheere up their drooping hopes withall, since the going down of their side at the great Battell of *Leipsich*. Much noyse was there made of this little. They that make much of little, tis a sign they have not much. By *Gustavus Horns* letter may the Reader find, where the fault on the *Swedish* side was: in the Count of *Solms* his Regiment, namely; who had not beene long enough under the *Swedish* Discipline, to learne either to

* labour,

* labour, or to fight. *Horn* (me thinks) was to blame too, to be so carelesse, as to have no skouts abroad. The King having heard of *Horns* forsaking of *Bamberg*, some 4 or 5 dayes before the receipt of his letter; resolues to succour his *Felt-Marshall*, and to be revenged of that *Veillard* (that old man) as he called the Count of *Tilly*. Whilst therefore his Maje-
sty is employed in drawing his old souldiers out of their gar-
risons neere unto him; in putting of new levied men into their places; and in dispatching away Messengers unto Duke *William* of *Saxon-Weymar*, and the Generall *Bunier*, to come and meete him with their forces upon the way: it shall not be amisse to goe backe againe, to fetch up *Gustavus Hornes* Story; even from the time of the Kings former leaving of him in *Franconia*, untill this last businesse of *Bamberg*, betwixt his men were him and the Count of *Tilly*. For this hath beene our Methode in the *First part of our Intelligencer.*

* You may per ceive by the 4th Article in our Booke of the Swedish Disci-
pline, that eve-
ry Band and Regiment were to be their owne Pyoners, to make up their and to fortifie their owne Quarters: in which Solms

not yet used unto.

Gusta-



Gustavus Hornes Story.

HERE is (at least) a shew of force, as well as a reality of wise carriage & gentle usage; required to the setting of a Country, as there hath been to the conquering. Whereas, therefore, the King of Sweden in his late *Declaration* or *Manifesto* at *Wurzburg*, had endeavored to reduce the Dukedom and Bishopricke of *Franconia* into the forme of a *Province*; by introducing (as the *Romanes* used) a new order of Government among the subjects of his new *Duchy*: to see these *Orders* there well observed, was one of the reasons why *Gustavus Horne*, the *Field-marshall*, or second person unto the King himselfe; was at his Majesties comming away left with an army of 6000 or 7000 men about *Wurzburg*. And this, I collect, by the stillnesse of actions in those parts; to have beene the first of his busynesse. I find no mention of any motions of his, all that moneth of *Octo-ber*; in the beginning whereof the King parted from him. Another reason for which quietnesse of his, may likewise be; that he was not to stirre from those parts, till the Generall *Tilly* were gone out of them; and that for feare of his attempts, or the peoples desire of alterations.

But the Count of *Tilly* being now in the end of November past beyond *Norimberg*; his devided army gone towards *Bavaria* and the *upper Palatinate*; and the Subjects of *Franconia* withall, in an indifferent posture of quietnesse: then begins the *Swedish Marshall* to looke about him. *Tilly* in his late march from the King towards *Norimberg*, had with small labour recovered the townes of *Mergentheim*, *Winsheim* and *Rotenburg* from the *Swedish*: these Townes therefore, so soone

soone as *Tillyes* backe was turnd, are in the first place set upon. The City of *Kitzing* (a good Towne, some twelve English miles to the East of *Wurtzburg*) is by the beginning of December brought to composition: upon the fourth of which month, it takes the *Oath of Fidelity, unto the King and Crown of Sweden*. This (that I may tell you once for all) is the forme of Oath generally tendered by the King, unto the *Germanes*: and this is the clause that stickes in their stomakes most, and makes a many of them to boggle at it; in that (namely) they sweare not unto the *Roman Empire*, but to the *Crown of Sweden*; as if hereafter they were to be meere *Provincials* of that Kingdome. Whether this were solely the *impulsive*, or but the *assisting cause* onely, I cannot tell: but this is sure, that the Kings *broad Seale* and *Commission* for the said *Oath*, was the same night privately torn downe from the doore of the *Guildhall* or *Statehouse*, where it had beene affixed. This *Act* discovering, that there were some Imperially affected in the Towne, and casting a jealousie upon all; the Cittizens are therefore generally disarmed.

Winshaim, in the next place, a free City upon the small *Winshaim* taken River of *Aisch* (some tenne English miles to the South-East of *Kitzing*) accepts of a garrison of 400 *Swedish*. More Westerly also, and towards the head of the said River, and neere unto *Rotenburg*, is *Gebstalle* (as I find it written) presently upon that, likewise taken. The Towne of *Mergentheim*, seated more Westerly upon the River *Tauber*; is now about the middle of December, againe set upon. Here did the *Tillian* garrison make some resistance at the first: but the Marshall *Horn* fetching more men and Cannon out of *Wurzburg*; first of all defeats 800 new-come Imperialists, who had thought to have forc't a Quarter, and to have thrust themselves into the Towne. The garrison after this being more roundly besieged, and for two or three dayes battered; perceiving by the defeate of the former, no more succors likely to relieve them: they on Fryday, December 16. come to a composition. The next day, having obtained Souldi-

ours conditions, of Armes, Bag and baggage, &c. they march out towards *Nordlingen* : whereabout their Generall *Tilly* then was.

The Imperill City of *Rotenburg* npon the *Tauber*, in which Count *Tilly* had also left a very good garrison of *Altringers* people ; is dayly now infested by the neighbour *Swedes*, out of *Winsbaim* and *Gebssattel*. Those of *Winsbaim*, keepe their gates open both day and night, to be the readier to goe out upon Partees against the *Rotenburghers* : and the *Tillians* of the Towne wanting Horsemen (as it appeareth) were cut short by that meanes of those excursions and *Cavalcadoes*, which they were formerly wont to make out upon the Country. The Towne being thus (in a manner) blockt up by the *Swedes* ; generall *Altringer* (then with *Tilly* at *Nordlingen*) prepares to relieve his souldiors within it, or else to get them out of it. For this purpose, had he already drawne some of his men together in the *upper Palatinate* ; with whom, and with eight Peeces of Ordnance, he put himselfe upon his march : threatening, that when he had done with that Towne, to goe further and fall into the Duchy of *Wirtenberg* also.

d yeelded. But his men had yeelded before he could come ; and *Gustavus Horn*, to be before-hand with him, was gone to besiege *Hailbrun* ; the first good Towne that way-ward, of all the land of *Wirtenberg*. Vpon this newes, *Altringer* in the end of the month retired backe againe over the *Danuby* towards *Ausburg* : where I find him the seventeenth of Ianuary following. He gone, the *Swedes* left by *Horn* in *Franconia*, fye out as farre as *Guntzenhansen* ; a good towne at the end of the forest, a little South of *Onspach* ; in the way towards *Norimberg* and the *upper Palatinate*.

*Guntzenhansen
taken.*

This Citty of *Hailbrun* is an Imperiall Towne, but of the *Protestant Conversion* : and is the place, where the *Princes* of that *Union* used heretofore to keepe their *Diets*. It stands in the Duchy of *Wirtenberg* upon the River *Neckar* ; within eightene or twenty *English* miles of *Heidleberg*. Into this Towne, had the Imperiall Commissary *Ossa* about the end of

November

November before, thrust some tenne Ensignes of *Lorrayers* : which were the Duke of *Pfalzburgs* owne Regiment. For the maintenance of whom, was there a Contribution of 4000 ^{Hailbrun bel ged.} Gilders a month, laid upon the Gentlemen of the Country : and the Townsmen charged to find them Bread, Wine, Salt, Firing, Candles and House-roome. Towards freeing of this Towne, *Gustavus Horn* now converts his forces. Vpon Tuesday night, *Decemb. 20.* he all on the sudden and in the darke, encompasses the City : to which he the next morning gives summons by a *Trumpet*. The *Lorrayers* answer was lowder then the Trumpets demaund; for they set their Cannoneers to make it. *Horn* falling to worke with the spade, and to bring forward his Approaches, he a little after dinner, dispatches two Trumpets more with letters unto the Bargo-master and the Townsmen. The Contents were, to perswade them to get the *Lorrayers* out of their Towne ; and to doe their best to dispatch them quickly too : for long he would not tarry upon it, and loth he was to use extremities to a Towne of his owne Religion ; which they should doe well not to put him to. The *Lorraysn* Governor labours, on the other side, to hold the Cittizens in their obedience to the Emperour ; and encourages then to resist the *Swedish*. But they being carefull to save their houses from spoyling by the Cannon and Granadoes, and from being plundered by the *Swedish*, if they should be taken by Scaladoe ; refuse to manne their walls, or to joyne with the *Lorrayers*. *Horn* by the next morning, had brought his Lines as farre as the water-mill, a little without the Walls, wherein some sixty or seventy *Lorrayers* were lodged. The mill being blowne open with a Petard, is entred by the *Swedish* : and the execution begun among the *Lorrayers* : but by the mediation of a *French* Captaine of Dragooners, then serving among the *Swedish*, was the slaughter stayed. Before this mill the *Swedish* casting up a *Brest-worke* and a *Battery* : sorely beat upon the Fort or Cittadel of the Towne, lying right over against it. Perceiving after a few houres, that his Cannon would make a

taken.

breach fit to be *stormed*, he once againe demands up the place by a Trumpet. The garrison by this time, ialous both of the Townsinens fidelity, and of the weakenesse of the place (which indeed is no strong piece) beginne to shew a willingnesse to capitulate: and their conditions being accepted, halfe of them march out, and the other halfe take oath for the King of *Sweden*. *Horn* enters to keepe his *Christmas* in the Towne: and the first *Holy-dayes* being over, and in the neerenesse of the Kings army, no more neede of him in those parts; leaving five hundred muskettiers in the City, and Colonell *Schmidberger* for their Governour: he with the rest of the Army, returns backe againe into *Franconia*.

rn prepares
goc into
sberg.

His first worke there, was a preparation to fall into the Bishop of *Bamberg*s country: who had by this time more apparently broken his former faith unto the King, and received of *Tilly*s garrisons into his strongest Townes of *Bamberg*, *Forcheim*, and *Cronach*. More of the *Tilliens* and others, beganne now to assemble about *Hasfurt* upon the *Mayn*; there to be mustered and entertained into the Bishops service. *Gustavus Horn*, after his comming backe from *Hailbrun*, goes first unto *Winsbain*; to which place he gathers all his forces together, that had beene engarrisoned, betweene that and *Rotenburg*. Thence goes he to *Iphoven*, a small towne but one *Dutch* mile to the East of *Kitzing*; where he holds a generall muster: and to which place he had brought his Cannon along with him. Here I find him, January 14: which was in the time of the 14 dayes *Truce* aforesaid. And hereabouts (as I collect) might the Kings letters for a *Cessation of Armes* (dated at *Hoest* 4 dayes afore) come first unto his hands. And from these parts, (having little else to doe) went he unto *Norimberg*, to giue order there for the Fortifications of the City. Here was it agreed, that *Henry William Count of Solms* should bring his Regiment out of *Norimberg*, to ioyne with him against *Bamberg*. This is the Count, that had so resolutely defended *Norimberg* against *Tilly*, in recompence of which service,

es to see
ianberg.

vice, the King had honoured him with the Earledome of *Swartzenberg* in the Forest of *Duringen*.

Horn made no long stay in *Norimberg*; seeing that some few dayes before the end of the *Truce*, I find him at *Schweinfurt* upon the *Mayn*, full sixe leagues backe againe beyond *Iphoven*, and upon the edge of the Bishoprick of *Bamberg*. Hither now cald he all his Army; and hither did *Ernestus* Duke of *Saxon-Weymar*, whom the King had left Governour of *Konigshoven* (sixe leagues to the North of *Schweinfurt*) come to ioyne with him Duke. *William* of *Saxon-Weymar* should likewise have come to him. That some of this Dukes forces that had beene left about *Erfurt*, were already sent unto his brother *Ernestus*, I beleeve: but that himselfe was in the end of December passed by the *Duringer-waldt*, as farre as *Mainingen* towards *Horn*; and that he had 4000 horse and 8000 foot with him, (as the short and false * *Arma Suecica* sayes) I beleeve not: seeing he had but 1500 horse to bring unto the King afterwards at *Donawert*. But whether it were, that Duke *William* were at this instant diverted upon the taking of Passages in *Voitland*, to keepe the *Tillians* from comming out of the *Upper Palatinate* into *Misnia*, (his cosin the Elector of *Saxonies* country) as I heare it by some excused; or that he was still about *Gottingen* in *Westphalia*, which I judge rather: or what-ever else were in it: *Horn*, certainly, complains to the King of it, That those *Saxon* forces which he so much relied upon; were not time enough sent unto him, before that *Tilly* beat him out of *Bamberg*.

Gustavus Horn being gone by, there was a conspiracy detected in *Wurzburg* for the bringing in of *Tilly* againe. The intercepted letters desire *Tilly* to come with all speed, for that now was his time to take both Towne and Castle againe very easily; the most of the garrison being now drawne out towards *Bamberg*. This caused some of the Citizens to be laid hold of, and the place to be better guarded afterwards.

No sooner were the 14 dayes of *Truce* expired, but *Gustavus Horn* falls into the Bishoprick of *Bamberg*: which he

might have sooner done, for that the King had refused to grant any *Neutralitie* at all unto that Bishop. The countrey was much affrighted at his comming ; and the Bishop sends for aides unto the Count of *Tilly* : making meanes unto Colonell *Slammersdorff* of *Norimberg*, to take off *Horn*, if it were possible. *Horns* first designe was upon *Hochstat* ; a pretty Towne upon the river *Aisch*, betwixt *Kitzing* and *Forcheim*. Towards this, he upon Saterday, January 28. sending a small Partee or forlorne Hope before ; they were set upon and beaten backe by 50 Imperiall Horse : who being come out of *Bamberg* to seeke their adventure, had disposed themselues in close ambush in a small Dorp upon the way. More of the *Swedish* now comming in to the reskue, the Imperialists are forced to flee the next way into *Forcheim*. *Horn* bringing his men before the Towne, beating it a little with nine Peeces of Cannon, and by a casuall shot wounding the *Maior* ; the garrison (who were three hundred men) the next day give up the place : the most of them also becoming souldiers unto the *Swedish*. But before the yeeling up, out of *Forcheim* comes the Imperiall Colonell *D' Espagni*, with some five hundred Horse and as many Foote, hoping to relieve it. Three Cornets of the Count of *Solms* his Horse, being on the other side of the river on which the Towne standeth ; were now resolutely charged by *D' Espagni*. *Solms* his men sending to call in the *Bohemian* Baron *Kochtitzki*, the Imperialists retire upon it ; not making head at all, till they came within a mile of *Forcheim*. Hereabouts the five hundred Imperiall Foote finding an advantage ; dispose themselues into an Ambush : part thereof being in a Dorp, and part in a Church-yard ; where they waited for the *Swedish*. Hard it went with the *Swedish*, at the first Encounter ; divers common souldiers, two Lief-tenants, three Cornets, two Rit-masters, and fourty or fifty Horsemen were either slaine or spoyled. The Lord *Kochtitzki* (their Colonell) being after a while shot in one of his armes, and in some danger, was bravely reskued by his Lief-tenant.

tenant-Colonell: and his men, now all enraged, charging more fiercely upon the Imperialists, beate them after a while out of the village; kill divers both of Horse and Foote; and keep a great many prisoners. This defeate of *D'Espagni* being known to the garrison of *Bamberg*, they immediatly fall to pillage the City and to forsake it: retyring themselues into *Forcheim*, as into a place much stronger.

Upon Wednesday, February 1. *Gustavus Horn* sends five Cornets of Horse, and two Ensignes of Foote, to demand up the City of *Bamberg*, the chiefe Towne of the Bishoprick, though not the strongest. Tis seated upon the North-easterly banke of the *Main*, over which it hath a bridge. The Citizens being guilty of the weakenesse of the place, and the day before forsaken by their garrison; begin to enter into capitulation with the *Swedish*, absolutely agreeing to yeeld up their Towne unto them. Iust whilst this was a doing, five hundred Boores of the Traine-bands of *Cronach* and thereabouts, thrusting themselues on the contrary side into the Towne, fall presently aboord with the *Swedish*, laying lustily at them to beate them out againe. The Townsmen perceiving this, they strike in with their Boores likewise: and whereas there were some more of the *Swedish*, by this time come before the wals; they shut to their gates against them, with Cannon and Musket shot letting fly amaine amongst them. This continued untill midnight; by which time the *Swedish* Horse within, beginning to prove too hard for the Boores; and those without, now also breaking in, terribly affrighted the perfidious Townsmen with a feare of having their throates cut, every Mothers sonne of them. But they now throwing downe their Armes in the Market-place, and running to hide themselues where they could: the *Swedish* being indifferently appeased by the pillage of their houses, scorne in cold blood to meddle with a Citizen. Thus fatall hath it beene, to those of this City and Bishopricke; to breake their faiths unto the King of *Sweden*. Newes of all this is sent immediately unto *Gustavus Horn* at *Bamberg* by the Swedish.

at *Hochstat*; who comming into the City, takes up his lodg-
ing in the *Geierswer*, and leaves the Bishops Palace for Duke
Ernestus. The Country hereupon to avoid plundering, send
to *Bamberg* to make their agreement; out of whom, one or
other, *Gustavus Horn* drew a present ransome of 400000
Rix dollars.

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y the raine.

February-fill-dike (as if he feared to lose his good name) began now so naturally to play his part; and the season here-
upon proved so rainy; that *Horn* was not able, (especially with his Cannon and Carriages) to stirre any where abroad
into the Country. The chiefe service he could doe, was this,
that his Horse upon a faire day now and then, fell out against
those of *Forcheim*. This one accident, hindered the King
of *Sweden*, of finishing the conquest of the Bishopricke of
Bamberg.

at comming
against *Horn*,
turned backe
againe by the
wing Bishop
Bamberg.

The Bishop hearing of the taking of this Towne; flees
with all speed towards the *upper Palatinate*. February 3. he
went to *Wilseck*; the next day to *Amberg*: and in the end of
the moneth, unto *Ratisbone*, and so into *Bavaria*. It was his
chance upon the way, to meet with Lieutenant-Generall
Cratz and the Count of *Sultz*; who with 3000 men, and
some pieces of Ordnance, were come from *Amberg* and
Weiden, to relieve *Forcheim*: which they had heard (but
falsely) to be besieged. They were already advanc't as farre
as *Averbach* and beyond it; within some thirty English
miles, or lesse, of *Forcheim*. Here understanding by the Bi-
shop, that *Gustavus Horn* was too strong for so small a
number; they retire their forces backe againe unto *Aver-
bach*. This was upon the third of February: which very day
the Bishop went forward unto *Wilseck*, sixe English miles be-
yond *Averbach*.

Gustavus Horn was faine to containe himselfe within *Bam-
berg* all the rainy season: able to doe no other service, but to
fortifie the Towne a little; which was not indeed to be made
fensible. No iniury at all did he unto the Clergy of *Bamberg*:
except this might be mistaken for an offence; To have ende-
uoured

voured the saving of their soules, by causing the *Protestant Religion* to be publikely preached in their *Cathedrall*. Towards the end of the moneth, it began to freeze; so that no sooner were the earth and ice become hard enough to beare his *Ordinance*, but he prepares for the siege of *Forcheim*. From which designe how he was taken off by the Count of *Tilly*, we have before told you.

Since, now, that we have twice before made mention of the Generall *Tilly*; it shall not be amisse, in this very place, to him. bring up his *Story* from the *Battell of Leipsich*, unto this mee-
ting of his with *Horn*: and then leave him a while againe, till he be ready for his second and finall overthrow. The first part of his *Story*, might (tis true) have beene brought in before the first mention of him, when in October he drew neere unto the King: but for that it would have too much broken off the Kings *Story*, I thought better to put it here all together.

O**Gene-**



Generall *Tillyes* Proceedings.

 O one Act of this brave Chieftaines hath made him so much spoken of, (and with respect too) as that misfortune of his at the *Battell of Leipsich*. Vulgar people dye, and are forgotten: but this shewes how great a part of the world, and how principall a personage this man was, who still gave occasion to the first question of Newes, *Is Tilly yet alive?* To satisfie the Readers that he was not dead, (no nor never lay by it) we will here present you with the *Diary* or *Journall* of his first shiftings up and downe. And these be the *Gifts* of his *Progresse*.

He was defeated at *Leipsich*, September 7. 1631. From whence turning himselfe to the Westward (like the declining Sunne) and keeping along by the River *Sala*; he flees first

The way of his unto Hall: where he gat his wounds dressed; and whence together with the Counts of *Furstenberg* and *Pappenheim*,

away the next day hee hasted. Bending then a little to the North-West-ward; to *Ascherleben* hee hyes: where upon Fryday, September ninth, hee arryved. Hence wrote hee unto Generall *Altringer*: and this was the Copy of his Letter.

His Letter an-
to *Altringer*.

* Of *Bruns-
wick*.

My Lord, I am now arryved at *Ascherleben*: where I have a purpose and resolution to r'allee as many of our scattered and dispersed troopes, as we can possibly get together againe in this Dukedom *. I now write this my fourth letter unto you, to acquaint you with my desires: and earnestly withall to require you, that you keepe your selfe in a continual readynesse, and stand upon your guard with your whole army, in the best manner that you can. We cannot yet learne, which way the enemy is likely to turnchis Armes; he may perhaps

make

make towards you: for which reason I could advise you, that for your better safetie and securitie, you would hasten to joyne your selfe unto those troopes of ours which are already in *Hessen*; and altogether to assault the *Landtgraves* forces, as lively as possibly you can. I desire you, that as time will give you leave; you acquaint me with the newes of your parts, and the order of your proceedings. Your letters may be conueighed to me by the way of *Halberstat*: whereabouts I am as yet, and am likely for a while to continue.

Ascherleben, September 2^o. 1631.

Your very well affectioned,
John, Count of *Tilly*.

Hence goes he onwards into the Dukedom of *Brunswicke*, unto *Halberstat*: which is full fourescore *English* miles from the place of the late *battel*. Here finds he 18 troopes of his owne horse, which had beene gotten thither before him. Now (in *Brunswick-land*) was *Tilly* at home, (as it were:) for hereabouts had the Emperour bestowed divers lands and Lordships upon him, which had belonged unto *Christian* late Duke of *Brunswick* and Bishop of *Halberstat*, whom *Tilly* had ouerthrowne. Vpon the Church doores all hereabouts, sets he up his *Si quis* and his *Patents*: to give notice unto such of his Colonells and Captaines, as were yet fleeing they knew not whither: where they might find him, and such fragments of their owne troopes, as were already heard of. Perceiving himselfe not yet safe enough hereabouts, for that some of the *Swedish* Horse were even now skowring the coast up and downe, even upon the frontiers of this *Brunswick-land* and *Magdenburg*; so nettled he was at the newes of it; that even old and wounded though he were, yet upon Tuesday, Septemb. 13. (the sixth day after the battell) away from *Halberstat* he speeds for life. The (new) Administrator of

Halberstat, John Reinhard Metternich, he takes away with him ; and all the Souldiors of the neighbour garrisons.

Thence scapes he to *Osterwick*, foure leagues further : and so along in the Bishopricke of *Hildefsheim*. Bending here a little more southerly ; unto *Alfeldt* (tenne or eleven leagues further) he comes, upon Satterday Septemb. 17, just tenne dayes after the *battell*. In which time, (allowing him the neerest way, and by a line too) he had gone full seven score *English* miles of ground. The reliques of his army had runne as fast as he too ; so that well might it be called a *flying march*. But to make it more possible to beleeve ; namely, that his Foote should have gotten thus farre in this short time ; you are to take notice, that they had beene well lightned of their Armes and Luggage : so that hither they recovered, all light and unarmed.

Being here out of Gun-shot, he now makes his second stay, for the gathering up of more remaines of his army. Hence after a while sloaping a little to the South-West, to *Huxter* he goes in the Bishopricke of *Corbey* in *Westphalia* : whither he recovered, Septemb. 25 : having frit laid a bridge over the faire River of *Weser*, for the passage of his people. Here begins he to forme an Army againe ; to augment which, he hath a re-enforcement of 3000 Foote, and 2000 Horse (as some write) out of the diocese of *Cullen* : which might indeed easily enough come up to him thorow the County of *Waldeck*. Here also he recruits his old shatterd Regiments with some few levyes ; and hither from *Hamelon* (a Towne some sixe leagues to the Northward of *Huxter* ; and on the same side of the *Weser*) came there twelve peeces of Cannon, and such other necessaryes of warre, as that Magazine afforded. All these hee had before sent for, to meeke him there. It is a very good place for an army to be formed in ; for hereabouts are abundance of pretty fine Townes, a rich Country, and which had not of late been rifled. By this time, was he said to have an Army of 10000 men together : which supposing to be true ; then it plainly appeares, that he never, hitherto,

e continues
s flight.

ly forms a
w Army.

hitherto, had re-assembled full 5000 of his old army. This observation is to be made good by this argument: that the 5000 which were sent him from *Cullen*, and these other new levyed men too; are all to be discounted out of those ten thousand.

Perceiving a likelihood of some stirres hereabout (which did indeed breake out * a little after that) he leaves the Count of *Gronsfelt* in that new made leaguer with part of the forces, to be his Lieutenant in the parts upon the *Weser*. Within two or three dayes after, himselfe with the greatest part of the Army, marches unto *Warburg* in the Bishopricke of *Paderborn*; which standeth upon the river *Dimel*, that parteth this Bishoprick from the land of *Hessen*. The reason of his drawing towards these quarters was, to meeete with *Altringer*, *Fugger* and *Mansveld*, whom he had written unto: as also to be neerer to the Count of *Sultz*; who was on the other side of *Hessen*, betwixt *Fulda* and the *Mayn*. And these were the forces which *Tilly* mentioned in his Letters to *Altringer*, to be in the land of *Hessen*. The Duke of *Lorrain* also with his Army, was now upon the march thitherward; and unto all these, had *Tilly* written to come and meeete him. Having perfecter notice at this place of the Kings being gone beyond *Erfurt* towards *Franconia*; and that he had left pursuing of him: he turnes more Southerly upon it. Keeping himselfe therefore upon the very edges of *Waldeck*, and *Hessen* (a small River being his guide) he comes first unto *Gudersberg*, two miles West of the River of *Fulda*: which his men plunder and burne. Thence more Southerly still, unto *Fritzlar* in *Hessen*, twenty English miles from *Warburg*: which the *Hessen* *Landgrave* had newly taken from the Elector of *Mentz*. This was the last day of September. October the second, forward he moves againe: spoyling *Bercken* the same day, a *Dutch* league from *Fritzlar*. This he did, to flesh his souldiors upon an enemies countrey. That night, was there a Partee sent to *Bischhausen*; a small open village, a league beyond that. Hither had the countrey Boores driven their cattell; for that

* By the rising of the Duke of *Lunenburg* and the Bishop of *Bremen*, and the *Landgrave* of *Hessen*.

the village is on three sides fenced by two small rivers, which meete at it. A troope of the *Landgraves* Horse, had the poore people also for their protection. The *Tillians* flye upon this booty, beate the Boores and their guards ; and begin to drive away their cattell.

The garrison of *Zigenhaim* (a good strong towne of the *Landgraves*, some five *English* miles to the South of that) comming time enough in to the rescue, beat off the *Tillians* againe. Both parties being re-inforced by their owne ; some 300 are slaine on one side or other ; and *Tilly* being onward on his march, those of his were faine to leave the skirmish, and follow after the army. Thus the fray parted, the *Tillians* marching off, with the *Hessens* cattell. The next day, Tuesday, October 4, going on stil Southerly; he effects what he so much desired, the uniting of his army with *Altringer* and *Fugger*: *Altringer*, &c. with whom the Count of *Mansvelts* forces were now also conioyned. To fetch up whose *Story*, let us now goe backe againe, and so goe with them along altogether.

The Story of
Altringer and
Fugger.

This *Henry Otho* Lord *Fugger*, is one of the *Fuggers* of *Auspurg*, who are the greatest Family of Merchants and Bankers of all *Europe*. As for *Altringer*, his good parts meerly had preferd him : a thing rare in the Empire, where Gentry is so much stood upon. The sonne he was of a *Towne-Clerke*, or such like *Pen and inckhorne-man*, which kind of vocation is too much dis-respected in *Germany*. His education was first in the *Universities* : and after that, in the *Chancery* at *Prague*; where he was first a *Clerke*, and then an *Advocate*. His rare learning, (for he hath one of the best penns of *Germany*) and his sharpe wit, preferred him quickly from that place.

Applying himself unto the warres ; he was (to omit the rest) with Command employed into *Italy*, in the late warres of *Mantua* : which being ended, he returned with his army into *Germany*. How he pieced in with *Fugger*, and how upon the hearing of *Tillies* defeate at *Leipsich*, they both retyred thorow the *Duringer Forrest*; I leave to be read in my *First Part*.

Part. Some 6000 men, they were both together said to have at that time: with whom they first of all retired unto *Isenach*. About *Fulda* lay one of the Counts of *Mansfelt* (of which there be 5 Families) with whom they now conioyned. Their army they more encreased, with some new levies of such poore and young people, as they could in that haste and feare, ramble up together. *Altringer*, upon the receipt of *Tillies* letters, beginnes to turne that way towards him. Keeping the river of *Werra* close upon their right hand, they upon Tuesday, September 27. arrive at *Munden*, in the Northern edge of *Hessen-land*; where the river *Fulda* falleth into the *Werra*. They march ioync with 7 Thorow this Towne, they were marching from 8 to 4 the next day, and were reported to be 54 Cornets of Horse, and 82 Companies of Foote; some 10000 or 11000 men in all perchance: of which, a many were observed to be boyes and raw souldiers.

About halfe a league without *Munden*, they the same day pitcht their Campe: expecting that *Tilly* should thither have comne unto them. *Tilly*, to the same end, was some 2 dayes since, comne as neere to them as *Warburg*; some 18 or 20 English miles to the North-East of *Munden*. The armies now hearing one of another, and that the *Landgrave* of *Hessen* was with his forces, at that time, neere unto his owne Towne of *Cassel* upon the river of *Fulda*; they determine both together to fall into his Country; *Tilly* on the West side of the river *Fulda*, and *Altringer* upon the East; to spoyle that first, and then to conioyne their forces. This last, they the 4 of October thorowly performed.

Being united, they might altogether make up some 18000 men, Horse and Foote; but ill cloath'd and arm'd, God knowes. Their first march was to *Grebewaw*; a walled Towne some 4 English miles from the river *Fulda*, which runneth thorow the middest of *Hessen*. Here they pitch, and rest some night or two, to consult and order their busynesse. Thence goe they to *Schlicz*: a good towne, so named of the river it stands upon. Hence, October 6 to *Fulda*, a great *Abby* where they againe

againe stay and muster. I take no notice of *Gallobelgicus* his numbers; who as he allowes 1800 men to *Altringer* alone, so he affords 182 troopes of Horse unto both together, beside a very great number of Foote also. *Gallobelgicus* (I perceive) goes by *Geometricall proportion*, makes *London* measure now and then, and tels sixescore to the hundred: he gives too much credit (I meane) to great reports every where. A hundred eighty two troopes of good Horse, (*Tillyes* were very good) and a full hundred to each troope, will come to 18200 men: which (had *Tilly* had the leading) would have gone neere at that time, to have over-runne all *Germany*. The King of *Sweden* was but very weake in Horse at the Battell of *Leipsich*; nor had he as yet very much encreased them: and had *Tilly* now had but halfe so many Horse as 182 troopes; he would never have turned his head from the King of *Sweden*. A hundred eighty two Cornets and Ensignes of Horse and Foot together, might be the list of all their Armies: and might make up 18000 men; which *Gallobelgicus* allowes *Altringer* alone. And these two numbers might confound him. But this by way of discourse.

Here having newes of the King of *Sweden* beleagring of *Wurzburg*, the Imperiall Generalls consult how to levy the siege; but hearing againe of his taking the Castle, and of the other Townes he had gotten upon the banks of the *Mayn*: they make the more haste to conioyne themselues with the *Lorrain* army. Marching with good speede, thereupon, unto *Aschaffenburg* upon the *Mayn*, some three dayes march from *Fulda*; hither October 10 came the Duke of *Lorrain* to see the Generall *Tilly*. The next day, is *Altringer* sent over the *Mayn* towards these *Lorrainers*: so that upon Munday, October 17, was that coniunction made also. More of this, we have before told you, in the *Story* of these *Lorrainers*.

Whilst here (about *Aschaffenburg*) he lyes: he October 16. sends 3000 towards *Werthaim*, which were defeated: and so are three Regiments more of his about *Rotenburg*, October,

October 21. as we have before told you. In this *Interims* too, he sollicites *Hanaw*: and being denyed, he passes the *Main*, and takes in *Babenhausen* Towne and Castle, belonging unto the Count of *Hanaw Buxviller*: but empawned unto the Elder Count of *Hanaw*. The *Lorrayers* being come within three leagues of him (which is neere enough for vning) part of his forces about that very day, roave up and downe as farre as *Franckford* on the *Mayn*: many of them went into the very Towne, more being without the Ports; a great part of them very poore, and as yet unarmed. They came now as friends or *Neuters*, or Passengers to the Towne: for *Tilly* had not yet sollicited *Franckford* to take in a garrison: nor till five or sixe dayes after. At which time he requesting, and the Towne denying; he goes by *Selingstat* towards the *Bergstraes*: which is that part of the *Palatinate* on the same side of the *Rhine* with him. All along hereabouts (namely in the land of *Darmstat* and the *Bergstraes*) for certaine dayes helay: and verily beleaved it was, that he would have gone along the *Bergstraes* to *Manheims* and *Heidleberg*, and there have staid for the defence of the *Palatinate*. Some of his *Goes* into the men (if not himselfe) were advanc't that way as farre as right against *Oppenhe.m*, in the beginning of November: whenas judging by the taking of *Hanaw*, that the King would also come downe towards *Franckford*, and so hazzard to coope him up into the *Palatinate*; he all on the sudden, about the fourt or fifth of November, turnes backe againe towards the *Lorrain* army at *Miltenburg*. And here, the *Mayn* croo- Turnes backe into Franconia. king away many leagues to the *Northward*; he leaving it up- on the left hand, goes directly unto *Oxenfurt*: where the *Mayn* comes about as low againe, as at *Miltenburg*. What he did in the way; and what passed at *Oxenfurt*, we have before told you in the *Kings Story*.

Here the King and the Count of *Tilly* part againe: and *Offa*, who had beene Commissary to the *Lorrain* Army before, goes now along with *Tilly* towards *Norimberg*: a little before the end of November, comming backe againe

Offa goes along with Tilly.

and takes Rosenburg.

and Winshaim.

Tilly takes Weissenburg.

and rifies the Marquisate of Onspach.

from thence, unto his charge, the *Lorrainers*. *Offa* by vertue partly of his *Commission* (which was Imperiall) and partly by vertue of some of *Tillyes* forces ; takes in the Imperiall City of *Rosenburg* upon the *Tauber*, which the Kings men had before taken. Twelve thousand Dollars he drew from the Magistrates ; nor could hee hinder his souldiours afterwards from plundering of the City : which I impute not unto the Injusticc of the Generalls, but unto the hunger and unrulynesse of the Souldiours ; who having had no pay in a long time, could not here be so well governed. With the same sawce, they served all the Dorps and smaller villages, thereabouts.

And now, it seemes, was the Army devided ; not marching i'all together in one grosse : for part of it at the same time tooke in *Winshaim*, an Imperiall City towards the North : and another Division, went to *Guntzenhausen* : almost forty *English* miles from that, towards the South : both Armies meeting againe about *Norimberg*. Those that tooke *Guntzenhausen*, went thence unto the Imperiall City of *Weissenburg*, about foure or five *English* miles more to the South-East, where *Tilly* left a small garrison. About an *English* mile from which, and upon an hill on the North side ; stands the strong castle of *Wilsburg*, belonging unto the young Marquesse of *Onspach*, Pupill unto his Cosin the Elector of *Brandenburg*. This being the strongest Passe of all those parts, the Marchionesse Dowager (Mother unto the Yong Lord) is mainely laid at by *Tilly*, to cause her brother the Count of *Solms* (Governor of the Castle) to deliver it up into his hands, with all the Ordnance and Ammunition in it. And this, though not presently ; yet he after a while wrung from her : into which he put the young Count of *Pappenheim* (Cosin to Generall *Pappenheim*) whose Castle is a neighbour unto it. Nor yet did the Lady find any whit the more favour for it : seeing Her Sonnes owne Towne of *Onspach*, with the Villages of the Marquisate, were by the *Tilliens* taken and plundered, and above 5000 head of great

Cattell

Cattell gotten away from her Country Subjects. Some villages, both here, and in the County of *Hohenlo*, were fired also. Yet was all this, but some of the civilest: most Souldiers (if enemies) would have done as much. The next is barbarous: for comming to the Cloyster of *Haibron*, (twelve English miles from *Norimberg*) where some of the Marquesses of *Onspach* (who are of the Electorall house of *Brandenburg*) lye entombed: the sacrilegious soldiours breake open the vault, and rob the dead corpses of the Marquesses, *George Frederike*, and *Joachim Ernest*, of the Iewels, Rings, and other rich ornaments, with which they were entombed.

Hence went the Generall *Tilly* unto *Swabach*; within seven or eight English miles of *Norimberg*. This goodly City of *Norimberg*, was the Passe that *Tilly* all this while aymd at; and which he hoped to enforce to a composition with him. Making his head-quarter therefore at this *Swabach*, which is on the South of *Norimberg*; he sends out other of his forces to take in *Altorff*, *Lauff*, and *Hersbruck*, all on the North and East of it. Having thus surrounded the Country about it, he begins, November 18. to bring his army nearer to the walls, as if to besiege it. Having thus shewd them his power, he sends withall his Messengers into the City, first to have such a proportion of bread &c. given him, and then, to have some Councillors and Doctors sent out to treat with him. The Doctors went to *Swabach* and there dined with him: unto whom were these demands in the Emperors name propounded.

Tilly sets down his demands before *Norimberg*.

1. That the Magistrates should deliver the Count of *Solms* His demands into his hands; as an officer belonging unto the Emperors enemy, the King of *Sweden*.

2. That they should licence all their forces, and suffer their soldiours to serve under his Colours.

3. That they should stand to their promise lately made, and renounce the *Conclusions of Leipsich*.

This if they yeelded to him in, he promised to pay them honestly, for all such provisions, as he should demand of them:

them : and if not, then would he force them to it. The Doctors receiving these demands, promise an answer unto his Excellency the day following. And indeed he had it ; for the Count of *Solms*, (whose body he so much desired) made a personall tender of himselfe before *Tillyes* trenches, by a resolute sally the next day : where, with his Regiment of *Swedish* horse, hee defeated that of the young Prince of *Anhalt*, and tooke himselfe, with some thirtie of his officers, prisoners. This *John George* Count of *Solms*, with his brother *William Henry*, had each of them a Regiment in the Citie ; the first of Horse, and the second of Foot ; both newly levyed for the Kings service. Here were also two Counts of *Hohenlo* : and another Regiment of Colonel * *Slammersdorffs* : so that they had a garrison of some 3000 Horse and Foot : which the Burgers with their sonnes and servants in the towne, could well make up 10000 able fighting men. Some Engineers had the King of *Sweden* newly sent unto them ; who with such haste and skill perfected up the Workes they had begun before *Tillyes* comming, that they now much cared not for all his threatenings. *Tillyes* approaches went on but slowly ; as if he had intended to skare the Citie, rather then besiege it. And indeed it was too big and strong ; every way too well supplyed, for *Tillyes* rawe and ill provided army to meddle withall. Hee wanted both victuals and ammunition for such a siege ; besides which, winter was too neerely a comming on, to sit downe to it. *Tilly* surely was too wise to make a Worke of it. Yet some bravadoes, for his honour sake, did his men make against it : which were with losse daily repulsed by the sallyes of the Counts of *Solms* and others. Hee lost *Slabata* a Colonell of the *Crabats*, before the towne ; with many Officers and Gentlemen of worth moe. Perceiving now his men to begin to runne away into the towne (which they daily did, by tens and twenties in a company:) and that there was no other contribution to be expected but powder and shot (if hee liked it:) he sends to *Altringer* (who then commanded before the towne, to draw off the troopes, and to bee rising.

Leaving

Five Regi-
ents sayes
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raises his
e from No-
berg.

Leaving therefore some 2000 dead, and wounded, and sicke, and halfe starved men behind him, either in the trenches or neighbour villages ; he upon the 22 and 23 of November, dislodges with his Army. That which made this sudden rising of his seeme the stranger, was, That it was done in the night: and in such haste too, that his men left some of their baggage-wagons behind them. And if this may be excused, as being done for *want* rather, then for *haste* or *fear* ; for that namely they wanted wagon-horses: yet surely his men wanted not stomakes for the sheepe and other victuals left behind them ready dresed, (as I find from 2 severall hands written) & upon the tables too: which verily argued some needless feare or haste in them.

At *Rot*, a Towne some seven *English* miles to the South of his Head-quarter of *Swabach*, lay part of his store of Gunpowder : which being charg'd upon the wagons, and ready now to march after the army, was by negligence set on fire, and 12500 weight of powder blowne up ; some peeces of Ordnance spoyled, with other mischife done to the ammunition. The Count of *Tilly* hearing of this *mischance*, *Now sayes he* (with a deepe sigh) *doe I evidently perceive all my good fortunes to begin to faile me, and every thing (me* ^{Tillyes heart} *begins to mis-*
thinkes) goes awkwardly with me. The man perchance thought give him. of *Magdenburg* (or might have done) at the same time. This was reported in *Norimberg* by one of the officers of *Tillyes* Ordnance ; who had very good meanes to know it.

Count *Tilly* now perceiving his Army (this deare and dead time) too great to be kept together ; which would be needless too, no enemy being neere ; devides his forces thereupon : part whereof he kept with himselfe ; and part he sent another way, with *Cratz* and *Altringer*. The *Division* reserved to himselfe, marcht from *Swabach* first of all to *Rot* ; where the powder miscarried : and where he lodged 2 nights to get all things fit againe. Thence went he in the end of the moneth to *Donawert* upon the *Danow* ; where the Duke of *Bavaria* met him : and so to *Nordlingen* in *Schwabland*, where he staied. The other halfe that went with *Altringer*

Generall Tillyes Proceedings.

and *Cratz*, were put into garrison neerer hand: as in the towns of *Lauff*, *Hersbruck* and *Altorff*, hard by *Norimberg*; and some in *Sulzbach*, *Amberg*, and *Newmarckt*; all Townes of the *Upper Palatinate*. Colonel *Cratz* (who having beene Generall of the Ordnance, was now made *Felt-Marshall*) took *Cratz made Field-Marshall* up his garrison at *Amberg*, the chiefe City of the *Upper Palatinate*; whither all the Officers were to resort for order unto him; that they neede not iourney to the Duke of *Bavaria* or the Generall *Tilly*. The Count of *Sulz*, lay with his men about *Weyden* upon the river *Nab*, to the North of *Amberg*. *Merodi* and *Breda*, with their Regiments; were put into *Averbach*, *Grafenwerd*, and into the Townes and Dorps betweene them. All these townes are on the Northside of the *Upper Palatinate*, and towards the Bishoprick of *Bamberg*. The Generall *Tilly* engairisond his men in the Territory called *Ries* next unto *Donawert*: and about *Giengen* in the Diocese of *Elwang*, and in the Iurisdiction of *Haidenham* in *Schwab-land*, upon the frontiers of *Wirtenberg*, the next Westerne neighbours unto *Nordlingen*; where himselfe lay.

The reason why
Tilly thus de-
vides his army.

In this deviding and lodging of his army, the provident *Tilly* had two respects especially. The King of *Sweden* had 2 Armies then on foote; of which, 2 of the Catholike Leaguers were in danger: the Bishop of *Bamberg* namely; who stood in doubt to be every day invaded by *Horn*: and the Duke of *Bavaria*, in feare of the King himselfe. To guard the Countries of these 2 Princes, had *Tilly* to the most advantage thus disposed of his armies. Those forces that he kept with himselfe, were for the safeguard of *Bavaria*; and the Frontiers of *Schwabland* and *Franconia*: against whom, if the King should come the neerest way, thorow the Dukedom of *Wirtemberg* (in which Country he had already some townes and friends; and there at this present, some forces a levying for him) then lay *Tilly* at *Nordlingen* right in the Kings way to oppose him. The other troopes were laid in the *Upper Palatinate*, so neere unto *Bamberg*; that if *Horn* should fall in there, they might strike in, time enough to the reskue. And these were

were the 12000 men, with whom *Tilly* put *Gustavus Horn* out of *Bamberg* afterwards. Along with *Tilly*, went *Rodolph Saxon-Lawen-Maximilian Duke of Saxon-Lawenburg*; now upon *Cratz* ^{burg made Generall of the} his preferment, made in his place Generall of the *Ordnance*. The Duke conveighing his Gunns into *Donawert*, staid himself there as *Governour* of the *Towne*, untill the King beat him out. A thousand of his Horse and 500 Foot, he would faine have thrust upon the Imperiall free *City of Ausburg* neere to *Donawert*, to be billeted among them for the 3 winter moneths. This the *City* put off, by sending some victuals to the souldiers.

This goodly *Protestant* *City of Ausburg*, was much practised upon, to be wholly gained to the *Catholike* party. The better to bring about which plot, had the chiefe Officers and Magistracies of the *City*, beene by the Emperors authority and private working, remooved from the *Protestants*, and conferred upon the *Papists*. The Duke of *Bavaria* (their next neighbour) likewise, pretending I know not what dangers, had by the *Papists* meanes skrued in some of his new levied Boores. Thither, thereupon, comes *Altringer*; to take order for the *Militia* in that *City*, and *Bishopricke*, and in the *Lordships* of the *Fuggers*. Hitherwards in the beginning of *Januari* following, he remooves all his owne *Regiment* out of the *Upper Palatinate*, which he enquarters about *Auspurg*. *Altringer* presently upon this, hearing that his men which he had left in *Rotenburg* in *Franconia*, were now endangered by *Gustavus Horns* people; prepares to relieve them. Much feared he was likewise in the *Duchy of Wirtemberg*, which beganne to arme against him. But *Rotenburg* was taken, and his expedition stayed.

About this time of the yeere, the Count of *Furstenberg*, ^{The Count of} who had not beene with *Tilly* since the battell of *Leipsich*, ^{Leipsich} *Furstenberg* ^{had} gives over following of the warres. *Pappenheim* had beene signes his taken off by the *Leaguers*, and employed into the *Lower Saxony*. *Tillyes* selfe was resident for the most part in *Nordlingen*: whither *Altringer* went now and then also. In the beginning of

of this January, *Tilly* goes to *Donawert*, there to meeke his old Master the Duke of *Bavaria*. And there being a likelihood of some motions upon the frontiers of *Bohemia* and the *Upper Palatinate*: *Tilly* makes a iourney from *Donawert* unto *Amberg*. Two thousand horse he was to take along with him, and his Foote and Ordnance he sent to *Weiden*, upon the very Westerne frontiers of *Bohemia*, whence they were to march onwards vnto *Egra*: towards which towne, the *Saxon* forces began now to turne them very strongly. The Imperiall Colonel * *Gotze*, *Don Balthazar*, and the Felt-Maſhull *Diepenbach* had requested *Tilly* to this: hoping to drive the *Saxons* into the midſt of them. But this plot, *Arnhem* prevented. *Tilly* about January 10, returnesto *Nordlingen* againe. January 18, he takes 13 Peeces of Ordnance out of *Wilsburg* Castle, which (as we told you) he had wrung from the Marchionesse of *Onſbach*: and these he sends unto *Offa*, for the furniſhing of *Conſtance* and *Lindau*.

Neither *Tilly*, nor his armies, stirred much abroad after this, till the Frost began about February 20: about which time he goes to that part of his Army in the *Upper Palatinate*. February 22. He is at *Newmarckt*, one of the faireſt townes of all this *Palatinate*; and thither all his Horse out of their severall Quarters assembled. Thence goes he to *Altorff*: where he lodges, Febr. 24. himſelfe, *Altringer*, the Baron of *Cronenburg* and other chiefe Colonells, quartering themſelues in the Castle. Here is an Vniversity: the Students whereof were courteouſly enough uſed by the Souldiers. Hence marches he away not farre off from *Norimberg*: whither he againe ſends in the Emperors name and his owne, to be of courtesie furniſhed by them with ſome provisions. Now was his march directly intended againſt *Gustavus Horn*; towards whom he led 12000 men, and 22 Peeces of Ordnance: besides ſome of the *Bavarian* Boores, which the Duke their master had put into the Army to leарne ſomething. February 27. *Tilly* enters into *Forcheim*, the ſtrongeſt towne of the Bishopricke of *Bamberg*: whence the next day he went againſt *Gustavus Horn*.

This is he
at destroyed
ſwalk: as you
ay ſee in our
iſt Part.

Horn. The story whereof having before told you; we shall leave him about *Hasfurt* in the said Bishoprick, till he voids it of himselfe, upon the Kings comming against him. So that the other part of *Tillyes Proceedings*, you are to looke for in *Our relation of the Kings march into Bavaria*. Whereas, therefore, we have heretofore mentioned the Duke of *Bavariaes* meeting to conferre with *Tilly*; his ioyning of some of his men with the *Tillians*: and for that both the Armies were shortly after this put into one body; it shall not be amisse, here to bring in the preparations made by this Duke also; who hath beene so great an *Actor and Suffrer* in this *Germane* tragedy, especially seeing that the *Scene* is next to be laid in his owne *Bavaria*.

This Prince hath by many beene taxed, (and by some of his own subiects too) how iustly I dispute not: to have beene, *Bavariaes sto* if not the *plotter and Incendiary*; yet the *promoter and Bountefull* of a great part of these present troubles. A crafty wise man he is; witnesse those subtill conveiances of his owne ends, for 12 yeeres together: whereby he hath made himselfe both *rich and potent*. The skill he is said to have, of imposing a *Reseruednesse* upon his owne expressions; and the same art of palliating his pretences, which *Statists* call *Policy*; though in *Morality* it bee, but a *Magnificent dissimulation*. These, with some other *Cabinet Doctrines*, hath he learned at the *Iesuites Lectures*: whose *Disciple* he is, and in the *highest forme* too.

When after the defeate of the *Catholike Army* at *Leipsich*, and the comming downe of the Conqueror among the lands of the *Leaguers*; the Princes of that *Confederation* were put to the end of their Counsels: the Duke of *Bavaria* is the man, upon whose greatnessse and credit in the Empire, the hopes of that side were pitcht, for the setting of all right againe. He, to give good example to the rest, summons al his subiects generally, all that were able to beare armes (tagg and ragg) to be ready to stand upon the defensive. Some of his Boores he armes too; who for that, when they were *Day-laborers*, they had beene used

He summons
his people to
defence.

used to stopping of gaps ; now when they are become *souldiers*, he employes them (most naturally) to the stopping of passages. These he layes upon his Frontiers. By the end of October, had he gotten some 10, or 12000 of them arm'd and trained : and was resolved (as twas given out) to have sent them to the Emperours Army in *Bohemia*, against the *Saxons*. This expediti-
on was arrested by the newes of the *Saxons* taking of *Prage* ; and He put unto new Counsayles. The danger growing neerer upon his countrey, by the King of *Swedens* taking of the Bishopricks of *Wurtsburg* & *Bamberg* ; the Duke procures a Diet of the *Catholike-Leaguers* : which for the more honour unto him whom they so much relied upon, was held at *Landshut* in *Bavaria*, and in November. Here doe the Princes resolve, upon the levying of a new Army at their common Charges : whereof his Highnesse the Duke of *Bavaria*, was to be Generalissimo ; and his Creature the Count of *Tilly*, Generall, as before. To this Army of the *Leaguers*, was his Imperiall Ma-
jestie pleased likewise, that some of his Forces should be conjoyned : so that both *Imperiall* and *Leaguist* forces, went henceforth to the making of one Army.

is appointed
Generalissimo of
the Leaguist
forces.

The Duke hereupon reenforces his owne levies, for which *Donawert* is the Rendezvous. By this time (as it appeares) had His Highnesse beene sollicited by some of the contrary party, to come over to their side : the greatnes of the King of *Sweden*, able to doe him wrong ; the oppression of the Princes of *Germany*, whom that King fought but to deliver ; the ambitious rising of the Emperour and House of *Austria*, now ayming more at *Monarchy*, then at the propagation of the *Catholike Religion* ; and the Dukes owne disliking of divers of the Emperours actions in that kinde ; were urged for some of the arguments to draw him on, and to breake off both with the League and Emperour. I suppose that the *French Ambassador* then resident with him, was one of the *Orators* to perswade with him. It seemes likewise, that some hopes of prevayling were conceived ; yea and some speeches too, given out to that purpose. But the Duke now taking regrett at the hearing of it,

it, and sorry that his honour should be traduc'd, by the mistaking of his constant purposes to the other side and cause: hee immediately thereupon sets out a publike *Manifesto* or *Declaration* of his resolution; which, (to shew the earnestnesse of ^{Set out his} *Manifesto*. his intention) was penned in a high and sharpe streine: and by the furious undiscreet zeale showne in it to the *Saints* and *Romish* religion; the spightfull pen-and-inck-horne termes against the *Protestants*: the quotations of *Scriptures*, and some such other Characters: the Readers will collect that the Dukes *Confessor* had a hand in it, as well as his *Secretary*. Tis well worth the reading: but being something long, I have referr'd it till the end of the *Kings Story*; that wee might not here make too long an interruption.

To goe on. About mid-December the Duke procures another *Diet* at *Ingolstat*: where himselfe was present about the ^{A Diet at In-} twelfth of that moneth. The *Dyet* continued untill after *Christ-golstat*. *mas*: and in it was the *Proposition* made among the *Leaguers*, upon what Termes (by meanes of the *French King*,) they ^{He sends one} should desire, and accept of the *Neutralitie*. Now are their ^{Ambassador} ^{unto the King} ^{and another} ^{the Emperour} ^{at the same} ^{time.} Ambassadors dispatched unto the King of *Sweden*, then at *Menz*. They treated, as a distinct party from the Emperour: and for that the Duke of *Bavaria* was the chiefe person; the *negotiation* was in his name, or he (at least) was the first man named in it.

The craftie Duke (that hee might have two strings to his bowe) privately sends another Ambassador (his Chancellor *Donnersberg* namely) unto his Imperiall Majesty at the same time: of whose *negotiation*, these were the *Requests* or *Propositions* made unto the Emperour.

1. That *Cesar* would be pleased not to take it ill, that the Duke his Master had no more potently hitherto assisted his Majestie in these Warres; seeing it lay not in his power, to represso the King of *Sweden*. Yea, and that by the *Archduchesse* he had beene advised not to meddle with that King, without sufficient preparations: but so long to spinne out the time, untill the Army of the *Romane Catholiks* could be ready to assist ^{His propositions to the Emperour.} him.

him. Furthermore, his Duchy of *Bavaria* was so weakly by nature situated; as it was no wayes sufficient to hold out against such a Power, as that King had at present.

He meanes
vallenstein.
You see what
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ere yet was,
etwixt theie
vo.

supra Anisum.
For the
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the late
arres of Bo-
nia: which
e Emperour
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Duke those
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latinate.

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2. He very well hoped, that * That man, whom at the instant request of the *Electorall Colledge* in the *Diet of Ratis-bone 1630*, *Cæsar* had cashiered from his Generalship; hee would not now call to the place againe, without the knowledge of the same *Colledge*. And notwithstanding that the Duke his Master for his part had beene constrained to winke at some things, by reason of the present danger; yet he humbly intreated in the meane time, that if a Generall must of necessitie be sent into the Empire, the Imperiall Army might neither passe thorow, nor be sent into his Duchy of *Bavaria*.

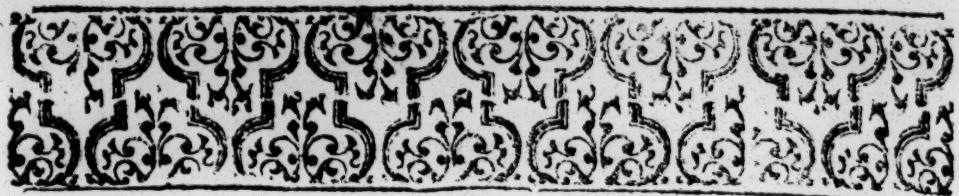
3. And because things in the *Palatinat*e seemed to foreshew an alteration, (the King being already Master of so many places there) he humbly requested of his Imperiall Majesty, that that part of the Archduchy of *Austria* called * *Ober-Ens*, which had before beene * empawned to him; His Majesty would now please to returne againe unto him.

4. Hereupon he promised to assist his Imperiall Majesty to the uttermost of his power; and to keepe off all molestations from the Archduchy of *Austria*. For which purpose, he had already blockt up the passages upon the *Danuby* with his Boores, and made all provisions for the defence of *Ober-Ens*.

The Duke being gladly entertained by the Emperour hereupon, and having made his advantages of the Treaty of *Neutrality* with the King, (of which wee before told you) still continues his warlike preparations. About the end of January, and beginning of February; hee sends some forces towards *Amberg* in the *Vpper Palatinat*e: intending to keepe some 5 or 6000 men thereabouts. When *Tilly* was afterwards driven that way, he then mixes his new-levyed Boores, among *Tillyes old Legions*: of whom, when any numbers marcht in a body by themselves; *Tilly* was faine to send some of his old souldiours along to bee their Keepers, and to stave them off from ravaging of the Countrey. When (after this) the King was

was gotten into *Bavaria*, faine then would he have treated to compound the matter : but neither would the King lose more time, nor trust him that was too much governed by the *Jesuites*. The first overture to the *Treaty*, was made by the *French Ambassador* : and the second, by the Duke of *Newburgs* : both times as by mediators or third partyes, to save the Dukes honour. But most eagerly was the King pressed to it, by the *French Ambassador*, then resident with the Duke : who angred his Majesty now and then, with his importunitie.

After his army was beaten at the *Lech*, his chiefe rendezvous and retreat, was *Ingolstat* : where when the King was on one side of the *Danaby*, the Duke and his army were upon the tother. There, had he gotten some 14000 men together againe : with whom, when the King rose from *Ingolstat* and *Ratisbone*, in *Dutch* called *Regenspurg*. Thereabouts he keeps for a while : and invites *Wallenstein* to joyne with him. Those of *Regenspurg* complaine, of the ill disciplining of his army ; whom His owne presence and justice, in executing divers plunderers, could not yet reduce into good order. To draw the King the sooner out of his Country ; he sends his Lieutenant Generall *Cratz*, to take in *Weissenburg* : himselfe in the meane time continuing about *Ingolstat* and *Regenspurg*. Hither when *Cratz* was come againe, *Bavaria* marches with his whole Army into the *Upper Palatinate* ; where, upon confidence of *Wallenstein* being at his backe ; hee about *Schwandorff*, thrusts himselfe before the Kings face, iust betwixt him and *Bohemia*. In which posture, we for this time leave him to expect *Walenstein*, and turne againe unto the King of *Sweden*.



The Kings March up into Bavaria.

What forces
were left in the
Palatinate.

WE left his Majesty of *Sweden* lately providing for his going against the Generall *Tilly* : drawing his old Regiments out of their garrisons, and putting new levyed men into their places. Of the old troopes, were the *Rhinegraves* Horse, Colonell *Hogen-dorffs* Brigade of Foote, and Colonell *Vitzthimb* with his 600 men at *Franckford* ; onely left for the guard of the *Dukedom of Mentz* (for so in the Army it began now to be called) and the Palatinate : over all which parts and forces, that wise Statesman the *Swedish* Chancellor *Oxenstiern* was to command in chiefe : whose charge moreover was, well to waite upon and guard the *Queene of Swedens* person, then left in the *City of Mentz*.

From which Towne the King sending the Army before, March the fourth, himselfe set forward the next day, together with the King of *Bohemia*, Prince *Augustus* of *Sulzbach*, &c. March 6. the Army encamps a mile beyond *Franckford*. Thence by *Steinheim*, to *A schaffenburg*, where they passe the *Mayn* : and whence March 7. in the morning they parted. That day went his Majesty before the Army thorow the *Spesbart* forest, unto *Lohr*, thirty *English* miles from *A schaffenburg*. Here he staid all the next day too ; going the next (Thursday) morning backe againe up the *Spesbart* Hill, to meeete his Army : who that night marcht up to *Lohr* also.

Fryday, March 9, the Army before day brake up, and
marcht

marcht to *Werenfelt* on the *Mayn*; a league to the North of *Carlstat*. This day came in thirty sixe troopes of horse of the Duke of *Saxon Weymars*. Within a day or two, comes the Generall *Banier* also; whose way out of *Magdenburg*, was thorough *Mansfelt*, *Iseleben*, and *Sangerhausen*: and so by *Erfurt* thorough the *Duringer-malde*, into *Franconia*. Next day, March 10, their Majesties of *Sweden* and *Bohemia*, going tenne miles further to the North-East; come to *Arnsstein* to meet with *Gustavus Horn*: who next day comes from about *Schweinfurt* and *Geltersheim*, unto them at *Tettelbach*, tenne miles further. Thence went the King onwards with three Brigades of the Army, unto *Kitzing*; and Colonell *Hepburn* with other two, unto *Oxfenfurt*; foure English miles from *Kitzing*. This was upon Munday, March. 12th.

March 15. *Gustavus Horn* went before with the Vant-gard to *Winsheim*, twelve or thirteene English miles further: whom the King and Generall *Banier*, the next day followed. Here at *Winsheim*, all the three armyes of the King, *Gustavus Horn*, and Sir *John Banier*; together with the new levyed Regiments drawne out of *Franconia*, were put together and mustered: which all together made not above 14000 Foote. The Horse were thought to be some 120 Cornets: but they being advanced towards *Norimberg* before, and in severall places now dispersed (because of the enemy) were not at this time drawne together. These might per-chance be some 10000 or 11000 men besides, so that all together, might make up an army of twenty foure or 25000 How strong strong, and no more: which is farre short of 45000, as King march was given out every where. From *Winsheim* the King went ^{up} directly Southward to *Dunkelspiel*, about thirty English miles further: his intent being to follow *Tilly* into *Bavaria*; whither at first it was beleeved he would have gone. This was, March 19. But finding now that *Tilly* retreated from him towards the *Upper Palatinate*; the King turnes faces about to the right, and marches directly towards *Norimberg*.

For

For the Generall *Tilly*, having hitherto stayed himselfe about *Hasfurt* in the Bishoprick of *Bamberg*; (all the time namely that *Gustavus Horn* was about *Schweinfurt* and *Geltershaim*) now understanding the King of *Sweden* to be comming against him; and finding himselfe too weake to abide the encounter with him that had before beaten him; he presently thereupon remooves himselfe towards the other part of his army in the *Upper Palatinate*. Upon Munday, March 12, he calls a Councell of warre at *Hasfurt*: the same day remooving with his army unto *Bamberg*. His Quarter-master-Generall being dispatched with directions unto *Cratz*, in the *Upper Palatinate*: was slaine by some *Swedish* Horsemen betwixt *Norimberg* and *Lauff*; and his letters sent unto the King. Tuesday, March 13. *Tilly* goes forward as farre as *Forcheim*, (16 English miles from *Bamberg*) where all his forces in those quarters met with him. Drawing out all the souldiers, and leaving the Bishopricke to shift for it selfe; he upon Thursday, March 15 goes to *Erlang*, mid-way betwixt *Forcheim* and *Norimberg*: where he that night makes shew of his army in full *Battaglia*. Thence marches he to *Norimberg*, where in the Emperors name and his owne, he desires of courtesie to be furnisht with some provisions. Coionel *Gallas*, Colonel *Holck*; and some Horse of *Don Balthasars*, had he before sent for out of the hether parts of *Bohemia*; where they as then waited upon the *Saxons*. These came to *Cratz* first, by the way of *Amberg*; whence they all together went by *Weydhauen* and *Averbach* to meeete with *Tilly*, at his entrance into the *Upper Palatinate*: into which *Tilly* pierced farther still and farther, after that *Norimberg* had this second time denied him. Those forces of his, that had hitherto laine about *Nordlingen* and *Donawert*; came now also towards him as farre as *Hochstat*: he likewise drawing towards them, by *Lauff*, *Altorff*, and *Newmarckt*: whereabouts hee stayed and fortified, expecting there the Kings motions. This was about March 18, or 19. And this middle part of the *Palatinate*, was the best guard that *Tilly* could lie at: for should the

ching into
Upper Pa-
tate.

the King have desired to have marcht into *Bohemia*, then was he right in his way to stop him: and if into *Bavaria*, then could he be there before, to keepe him out.

The King being at *Dunkelspiel* (or *Dinkelstuhel*) was then within 30 *English* miles of *Donawert*; and might without opposition have marched thither, whither he made so much haste within a few dayes after. It may seeme something strange, that *Tilly* marcht not thither before him. But this was *Bavariaes* policy; who had newly sent a command unto him, that he should by no meanes retire into *Bavaria*, for feare of drawing the King of *Sweden* in thither after him: and of laying the field of warre in his country, which he had rather should be in the Prince *Palatines* Dominions. By this device, thought *Bavaria* both to save his owne country, and to force the King of *Sweden* to spoyle the *Palatinate*; which he would be glad enough to see ruined. Therefore did *Tilly* play thus like the *Lapwing*, to draw the King from his own nest.

Why *Tilly* wen
into the Pala-
tinate.

His Maiesty now perceiving, which way *Tilly* retired from him; alters his march (as hath beene said) and faces about directly towards *Norimberg*. From *Dunkelspiel* therefore marches he unto *Furt*; a pretty towne some 3 *English* miles to the West of *Norimberg*, where, upon Tuesday, March 20 he arrived, and encamped. That night was his Maiesty expected to have come into *Norimberg*: out of which City when multitudes of people came flocking to his Leaguer, Then sayes the King (laughing) I perceive I must needes see *Norimberg*. This City is one of the greatest and richest of *Germany*; and the chiefest Passe of all those countries. It had condiscended unto the King, when he most stood in need of it; twice opposed and denied *Tilly*, since that: and therefore they might well expect, the King should honour them with his presence. He made his entrance into it, about 10 in the forenoone, March 21. The morning was observed to be rainy and lowring; but no sooner were the 2 Kings feete set upon the bridge, but the Sunne began to make a faire day of

The King en-
campes by
Norimberg.

His entertain-
ment in Norim-
berg.

it : which divers tooke notice of , as a cheerefull presage of more *halcyon* dayes a comming. I need not tell, how welcome his Maiesty of *Sweden* was ; how solemnly received, or how nobly he behaved himselfe againe. The King of *Bohemiae* person likewise, was as much desired to be seene, by his own Subjects of the *Upper Palatinate*, next neighbours unto *Norimberg* : whose gracious deportment unto them againe, I must here also passe over. The King of *Swedens* first complement to the Magistrates was , to acknowledge their good will towards his service ; and to thanke them for their bountifull entertainement of his *Field-Marshall Horn*. At table, his Maiesty fed, (like a souldier) upon the substantiallest and plainest meates onely ; scarce touching a bit of any of the rarities, or forced dishes. After dinner, gave he audience unto some *Protestant* Lords of *Ausburg*, comme thither to him from those of the *Religion* of that City : who presented him with 2 faire horses. After that, followed the *Norimbergers* presents: which were, foure very great Peeces of brasse Ordnance, with their furniture. Two *Globes of the world* of a reasonable bignesse, all of silver ; and filled , one with new *Ducates* ; and the other with new *Gold-Gilders*: together with sixe wagons of *Oates*, *Fish*, and *Wine* : which (in lesser quantities) is the ordinary and generall present of *Germany* unto *Princes* and *Ambassadors*. With these *Presents*, there is (of course) an *Oration* ever presented : unto which of the *Townes*, the King (who is an excellent Speaker) presently returned this following answer.

The Kings
Oration at
Norimberg.

I doe graciously accept of , and thanke you for this *Present*, but withall I doe assure you, That the most acceptable gift you can bestow upon me, is your constancy for the *Evangelicall* and *common* cause. From which I here pray you, that you never suffer your selves to be withdrawne ; and that you neither yeeld unto feare or hope , neither to faire promises, nor fierce threatnings; neither to pleasure, nor to vanities; nor yet to any other particular passion or affection , which men are usually subiect unto: or by which they are wrought upon, and

and perswaded: and in these dangerous times especially, where *Mammon* the Prince of this World so much domineereth. With-stand you therefore, all avarice, and love of riches: wherein the enemy, I know, will not be wanting, but will every way attempt you: they will promise, they will threaten, they will doe their very uttermost, to entangle you in their springes. But for this, your selues and all the world well know, what subtil and powerfull enemies we have against us; and how strictly they be leagued and banded together, for the rooting out of all the *Evangeliacall* States and Princes. That way are all their devices, actions, and endeavours driven: to that Butt, aime all their attempts and their designes: and to that purpose, is all their mightines and great power employed: and in a word; All they commit, and all they omit; all their thoughts, and all their wishes, tend wholly to our destruction. True it is, that outwardly they make shew of suing for peace: but it should be such a peace, as that you, your State, and all other *Protestants* whatsoever, would be utterly and assuredly ruined and undone by it.

God hath preferd you to be Governours, hath put into your trust, many thousands of soules; and it is so populous a City which you rule, that I have scarcely seene the like of it: all which depend wholly upon you, and wholly doth obey you: and I doe not doubt but you will so rule them all, as you hope to give an account of it before Gods great *Tribunall*, and before all *Christendome*. You are of noble Families, your Ancestours have, time out of mind, beene of honourable reputation in the world: walke you therefore in their worthy steps, and follow you the goodnesse of their examples. As good *Patriots*, doe you your duties at this time; and consider withall what *God* might suffer to come to passe, if you neglecting his help, should now give over your selues into the hands of your enemies. How, thinke you, would they use you and yours? *God* hath already suffered you to see many things; hath already laid some troubles upon you; so that you have had your share in these miseries, by which *God* hath

shewed us our sinnes and our deservings : but yet withall hath God still saved, defended, and most powerfully preserved you. So that I cannot enough wonder, and must acknowledge it to be a visible assistance and worke of God; that the enemies hitherto have beene so blinded, and so kept backe; that they have not all this while gotten this and such other Cities, which (as the world truely thought) they have had these 2 or 3 yeeres day, fully in their own powers. Truely God hath marveilously preserved you; as he hath also bin pleased to call me to this worke : for sooner should I have thought the last Iudgement would have come, then that I should come into *Norimberg*; and (as you your selues sayd) leave so farre behind me mine own Dominions, good subiects, and whatsoever else is loving and deare unto me ; and to bring along with me so many brave *Worthies* to expose their lives, as I doe mine, for the restitution, safety, and preservation of the *common Evangelicall* cause, and the liberttie of *Germany*. With this purpose I doe intend (God willing) to goe on, and to doe whatsoever shall lye in my power, and as God by his special grace shall conduct and enable me, both for you and all the rest of our friends : and I will, Ile assure you, both keepe and performe whatsoever I have heretofore promised, either by my Ambassadors, my Deputies, or my Letters.

Consider you therefore, I desire you, the consequence of this businesse, and for the mercy of Gods sake, remaine you constant; be not mooved at any thing whatsoever : but rather encourage you your neighbours, and such Townes especially as depend upon you.

I have not said thus much all this while, by reason of any doubt I have of your faithfulness and honesty, but rather to make you, who are already quicke and willing, more willing and quicke yet, by this spurre as it were of my words. God will not every day send you such a Preacher as I am, who am now here, with a desire to helpe and comfort you : to doe you all good, and to further your cause, so farre forth as God shall strengthen and enable me. Have patience a while therefore,

fore, and suffer a little more yet, remaine constant, performe your duties at this time, and God Almighty; who hath hitherto beene with you, and so marueilously shewed His helpe unto you, will assuredly give you his Grace also: that your City shall further flourish and encrease, your renowne shall bee spred all the World over: and wee all together shall honour, laud, praise, and blesse our Lord God, both here and for ever.

His Maiesty getting intelligence the same afternoone, of *Tillyes* sinking deeper still and deeper into the *Palatinate*; with a purpose ever as the King came neerer unto him, to hitch further still and further towards *Wallenstein* (who was then heard of upon the Frontiers of *Bohemia* and the said *Palatinate*) the King upon these and such other reasons following, quite againe alters his former resolution for the further pursuing of him.

The King
ters his purp
for followin
of *Tilly*.

1.

The first reason was this. That seeing *Tilly* would not be fought withall single; he thought it no policy to drive him up to *Wallenstein*: which two if they should have joyned with *Bavaria*, and then all three have turnd againe upon him; they might possibly have beene too hard for him: especially in that place, which they knew and not he.

2.

By this meanes, he should for the time, have laid the seate of the warre in his friends the Prince *Palatines* dominions: which would utterly have ruin'd them.

3.

Bavaria being still entier and untouched, supplied his enemies both with men and money: whereas were but the field of warre removed thither; himselfe should get his share of that, and cut so much of it off from the enemy: yea and the enemyes part of it too must of necessity be destroyed, by calling in *Tilly* to defend it.

4.

This would utterly defeate the Duke of *Bavariaes* project,

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(which the King by intercepted letters came to understand) that he would not have *Tilly* for this reason come into *Bavaria*; and that he had desired of the Emperour, that no army might be sent into, or thorow his Country.

5.

It would kill the very hearts of the *Bavarians*, to see an enemy in their owne Country. For tis commonly seene, that people who are valorous enough abroad, and to keepe out the warre; are danted and amazed to see it brought home unto them. The firing of the beacons (where any are) or the ringing of the Bells awck, (where that is used) will hardly draw them together to make head: and their hearts are quite done, notwithstanding all encouragements of fighting *pro Aris et focis*: for the people will give one halfe, to save the tother; the Cityes will yeeld; and the enemy in a short time, will be as strong as the Prince himselfe, in his owne Country.

6.

Should hee not now hasten into *Bavaria*; hee could not have gotten in thither at all; or at least-wise neither so soone, nor so neere a way. There was a Fort now a building at *Donawert*; which should he stay till it were finished, hee must then goe by *Ulm* many a league about, to get over the *Danubye*.

Vpon these reasons (among the rest) His Majesty now turnes directly (almost) backe againe; and that with expedition too: going the same night out of *Norimberg* unto *Swabach*; eight *English* miles to the South of it. *Tillyes* Forces were at the same time about *Newmarckt* and beyond it; betweene twentie and thirtie *English* miles to the East of *Swabach*. For the discovering of whose strength and lodging, the King immediately sends out some strong Horse-Partees: who upon Fryday, March 23, defeating some of those *Tillians*: returne presently againe unto the Kings Army. Vpon our *Lady Eve*, the Kings forces come to *Pleinfelt*, *Weissenburg*, and *Oetingen*; three pretty townes betwixt *Norimberg* and *Donawert*: upon the top of an hill, some *English* mile to the North

of

of this *Weissenburg*, stands the faire and strong Castle of *Wiltz*- See for these burg, the chiefe Passe and Command of all that Countrey : into townes, either in the South which the Count of *Tilly* had put the young Count of *Pappenheim* (Cousin to the Generall *Pappenheim*) for Governour. the Map of To him the King sending first of all, requires to have it peace- *Franconia*; o ably restored againe unto the Marchionesse of *Onspach* and her better in the children; if so be he expected to have his Fathers Lands and *Weltner edg* Castle of *Pappenheim*, (the very next neighbours to that place) of the Map, to be well uscd. The message being answered by the Cannon, *of the Map*, *upper Palatinate*. up goes the King the same day towards the Castle, which with eight troopes of Horse, and some sixe hundred Muskettiers, hee presently surrounded. Some of these Muskettiers are brought within Musket shot of the very walles; who with their continued volleys were to amuse the enemy, untill the King had round about taken his full view, of the Fortifications of the Castle. Finding the place to be strong, and *Tilly* to be neere, He concludes with himselfe, That it more concern'd him to leave the designe, and to march with expedition unto *Donawert*; then to lose his time about the strength of that Castle; whilst *Tilly* might in the meane time have finisht his Fort, already begun upon the hill before *Donawert*. Leaving therefore three hundred men under Colonel *Sperreuter* in the towne; hee marches with the Army directly the same day unto *Donawert*: where, according to his intelligence, he finds the already begun Skonce but halfe perfected.

The King leaves *Wiltz* burg Castle.

This continued expedition of his in the march, was of such consequence; that had he but stayed three dayes longer, whilst that Fort had beene made defensible; he might have beene enforced to have marcht about as farre as *Vlm* for his passage: where he had all this time imagined that he must indeed have passed over the *Danuby*. And thus if any Army were ever said to have *runne post*, this of the Kings now did: even all the way from *Mentz* unto *Donawert*.

March 26 in the morning, His Majesty takes in the towne and cloyster of *Kaisheim*, foure English miles short of *Donawert*: unto which Citie he the same night marched. This

Kaisheim take

Donawert

and
Danawert be-
ged.

Danawert hath sometimes beeene an Imperiall towne, though now at the Kings comming, in possession of the Duke of *Bavaria*; to whom it came by the occasion of its having beeene proscribed of late yeeres, by the Emperour *Rodolphus*. It is seated in the *Circle of Schwaben*, upon the Northern banke of the famous River of the *Danuby* or the *Danow*: which gives the name to it. This towne, and the bridge it hath over the *Danuby*, are the Key and Passe into that part of *Schwabland* beyond the River, first; and thorow that into *Bavaria*, by the river *Lech*. There were some 1200 Foot, 500 Horse, and 500 of the *Bavarian* trayn'd Bands, at this time within the Citie: the valiant *Rodulph Maximilian* Duke of *Saxon-Lauenburg*, (who had reskued *Tilly* at the Battell of *Leipsich*) being their Goverour.

The before-spoken of, now a building Fort; was upon the top of a little hill, on the Northwest side of the towne. The hill reached from the very walles of the Towne, unto the *Danuby*: the Fort it selfe being betwixt the towne and river; and within Musket shot of either. It was not as yet able to doe the Kings folke any annoyance; it had no batteries finished: by it therefore did the King thinke fittest to approach. On the bottom of the hill, close to the rivers side, was there a handsome Suburb, and thorow it, a Port into the Towne. In this Suburb, the King about nine a clocke in the morning, March 26, first of all causes 500 good Muskettiers to be lodg'd. His next worke was, on the same side of the hill, to raise up a Battery, and to mount twenty Peeces of Ordnance upon it: from whence he so flanckered the bridge, both with his Cannon and 500 Muskettiers; that the same men were able both to annoy the Towne, and to disturbe all passage over the said bridge, inward and outward. The Kings small and great shot, continue playing all this whole day after, upon the Port, the bridge, and a great Storehouse likewise on the side towards *Bavaria*; in which there were two troopes of horse, and some Foote of the *Tillians* lodg'd. About nine at night the King beginning to perceive, that could he but flancker

flancker the bridge on the other side of the Towne also, he might utterly cut off by that meanes, both their relieve and retreat; he instantly, to this purpose, sends Colonell *Hebron* with his *Brigade*, round about the Towne over *Harburg* bridge, (five English miles from *Donawert* towards the North) which standeth upon a little River that runneth thorow *Donawert* into the *Danuby*. Sir *John Hebron* having passed this bridge, marches downe to the West side of the Towne; where having a little after midnight, silently disposed his men in covert along in the gardens and most advantageous places under the Wall: he so orders the matter therupon, that no man could passe either over the *Danow* bridge, or out at the Western Port, but he must of necessity fall under his advantages. Those within the Towne, now perceiving (to their terror) that they were neither able to resist the King, nor to stay the expectation of relieve; thought a little before breake of day, to have under favour of the darkenesse marcht out of the Towne over the bridge, into that part of *Schwabenland* towards *Bavaria*. This designe of theirs, was hindered by Colonell *Hebron*; who now flanckering the bridge much neerer then the King on his side did, gave them such uneasie passage: that though *Saxon-Lawenburg* and some few with him got safely over, yet the rest that would have followed, were by those volleys so cut downe; that their dead bodyes even covered the most part of the bridge; and foulely encumbred the whole paßage of it. The rest yet within, seeing their retreate that way to be cut off; made a sally out at the West Port, upon *Hebron*: and were to their losse repulsed.

The King thundered all this while upon the other Port with his Cannon; and they within, still fearing his entrance that way; were resolved once againe to venture the forcing of their passage thorow *Hebron*; who they knew to be the weaker. Boldly sallying thereupon, they were by *Hebrons Brigade* so courageously the second time entertained: that betwixt three and 400 of them being cut downe, and 400

Hebron sent to
besiege the
towne on the
other side.

Hebron enters
the towne.

taken prisoners : *Hebron* in the height of this heate, at the same time enters that Western Port also. There were of *Eng-
lis* Voluntiers that waited upon Colonell *Hepburn* in this action (and with the formeſt) my Lord *Craven*, Master *Ni-
cholas Slanning*, and Master *Robert Marsham*.

Sir *John Hepburn* being thus gotten in, and having first cut in pieces all resistance ; his ſouldiours fall immediately to plundering : where many a gold chaine, with much other plate and treasure of the enemyes, were made prize of : they having wanted leſure before, for the conveighing away of their riches.

By this time, was the King likewife entered at his Port ; who immediately gives command, that none of the Burgers houses ſhould any more be plundered, (which ſome of the Souldiours had already begun to doe) onely what they could find of the *Bavarian* Souldiours, ſhould be lawfull boſty. All things after a while being quieted, the King ſendeth for Sir *John Hepburn* ; unto whom, before the King of *Bohemia*, the *Palatine August*, and divers other great personages, he ascribes the honour of this action : as being the man who had first counſelled him, that he might be ſent about by *Harburg* bridge ; and for having had ſo good ſuccesse, with ſo little loſſes. The Count of *Solms* his Foote Regiment, was put into the Towne for garrison ; and Colonell *Schneidewin* left Governor. Order was also taken for the free exercise of the *Protestant Religion*, to be restored in the Towne the *Easter* following.

Donawert being thus taken upon the 27 of March ; (which for all the dayes in the yeere was the Duke of *Bavariaes* Birth-
day) about tenne a clocke, the ſame morning, are there 500 Dragooners firſt, and twelve Cornets of Horse after them, ſent out with all ſpeed to purſue thoſe of the enemyes troopes, that betweene five and ſixe in the morning had escaped over the Bridge, with the Duke of *Saxon-Lawenburg*. These Horse and 500 Dragooners being diſpatched away, Colonell *Hebron* with his *Brigade* marches over next of all ; with or-
der

der to lodge himselfe by the aforesaid Store-house, at the South end of the bridge. Here he immediately raises up a very large *Half-Moone*, for the guard both of his men and the bridge, should the enemy now fall upon him.

The Dragooneers and Horse aforesaid, advance all along a goodly champion country, towards a Castle of the *Fuggers*; which was some 3 *English* miles from *Donawert*, and another from the Towne of *Rain*. Within it, were 400 souldiers and 12 Peeces of Ordnance; and about it, was a very deep *Graff* or moate. The defendants now perceiving the *Swedish* troopes A Castle of the Fuggers taken. thus to approach them; and finding by the example of *Dona-* *wert*, no expectation of relieve: they had thought at first to have quit the Castle, and to have made their retreat over the bridge at *Rain*. These the Dragooneers now intercepting, kill 200 of them upon the place; the Horsemen making prisoners of the residue. The *Swedish* Horse-Partee, was commanded by the *Grave von Hachtitschy* (as I heare his name pronounced) which I suppose should be the *Bohemian* Baron *Cochtitscky*, who had beene at the Battell of *Leipsich*, and with *Gustavus Horn* since that, at *Bamberg*.

Vpon the *Danuby*, (some 15 or 16 miles to the East of *Donawert*) stands the towne of *Newburg*: from whence *Wolfgang William*, (one of the Princes *Palatines* and cosin to the *Elector*,) hath his title of Duke of *Newburg*. He had heretofore beene a Protestant: but since he was turnd Papist, and becomne one of the *Catholike-Leaguers*; he had much hindred his Mother and 2 brethren, in the exercise of their religion: which see complain'd of, in the *Diet of Leipsich*. The elder of these 2 Brethren, Prince or *Palatine Augustus of Sultzbach*, (often heretofore mentioned) now desires the King to send him out with 1800 horse, and 2000 Foote, to the town of *Hochstat* and other places, in the *Duchy of Newburg*: which had beene preserved from Popery, by the courage and *Hochstat* taken. authority of their Mother, the old *Duchesse of Newburg*. This towne of *Hochstat*, does Prince *August* now seaze up-

* See pag. 24 of our First Part.

and Lawingen.

on: and full of ioy were the people, to be thus freed from their feare of the threatned *Popish* persecution. From this towne, *Ulm*, and *Lawingen*, was the Kings campe so long supplyed with Provisions, untill their entrance into *Bavaria*.

A little after this time, was the said *Lawingen* taken by the *Swedish* forces, that lay about *Ulm*. It is seated in a most fruitfull plaine, having the *Danuby* on the South, with a bridge over that: and belonged unto the said *Wolfgang William*, the eldest Duke of *Newburg*. And thus was he begun withall for having shewed himselfe an enemy, by relieving of the Imperialists, after he had treated a *Neutralitie*.

March 30 hath the Generall *Banier*, a great mind to take in *Newburg* also: for which purpose is there a strong Partee of *Commanded* men drawne out of the whole army: one *Rott* being taken out of every *Company*. They might make about 3000 Foote, and 1000 Horse; and were divided into eight troopes. All these marching away upon the North-side of the river, (the towne standing on the South,) find the place too strong to be in so short a time surprised. Generall *Banier*,

upon hope of prevailing by the terror of the King of *Swedens* name, directs his letters into the Towne: which not taking, he was faine to turne backe againe into his *Quarter*. The King was something pleasant with his Generall, for having lost his paines: and askt him, if he thought to take in the towne by a *skurvy letter*? The towne was voluntarilly afterwards forsaken by the *Tillians*, after the Kings victory at the *Lech*. Had *Banier* at this time taken in the towne: the King by that bridge had gotten into *Bavaria*.

Tilly comes in to Bavaria.

The Generall *Tilly*, (whom about the 18 or 19 of March we left about *Newmarcke* in the *Upper Palatinate*) having notice of the Kings making towards *Bavaria*; was by this time come by the way of *Ingolstat* bridge, into the said Duchy of *Bavaria*. By the beginning of *Aprill*, hath the King drawn all his army also an *English* mile out of *Donawert*, unto *Northeim*, namely, some 2 miles more from the river of *Lech*: which divideth the *Circle of Schwaben* from *Bavaria*. *Tilly* now

now perceiving the King to have the mysterie of getting of bridges ; breakes downe that, in his power, over the *Danuby* betwixt *Newburg* and *Rain* ; and that other over the *Lech* at *Rain* also , which is more then Musket shot beyond the towne. This *Rain* he fortifies ; and the better to keepe the King from passing any where over the *Lech*, he layes his army all along upon the *Bavarian* shore of it, betwixt *Rain* & *Ausburg*. The length it reacht, was neere upon, if not altogether, sixteene *English* miles. Not that his Army was then so bigge, as in one continued body to reach out sixteene miles together ; but that severall *Companies* and *Regiments* , were layd here and there scatteringly at a distance ; with some Guards and Sentinels now and then betweene , all the way from *Rain* unto *Ausburg*.

The King perceiving , how *Tillyes* maine intention was to keepe him out of *Bavaria*; sees no better means how to get into it, then by forcing a bridge over the *Lech* aforesaid. To find out the most aduantageous place for that purpose, and in the providing of necessaryes for the bridge, are the first four dayes of Aprill employed. In the meane time, comes Duke *William* of *Saxon-Weymar* from about *Erfurt* in *Duringen*, with those 10000 Foote , and 1500 Horse , which hee should before have joyned with *Gustavus Horn* in *Bamberg*.

The Duke, Aprill second, marching thorow *Donawert* ; conjoynes them the same day unto the Kings army : then encamped about *Northeim*.

The next day, Aprill third in the afternoone ; was there a Trumpet brought blindfolded into the Kings presence : his message (as I find it written) was to require *Letters of safe-conduct* for the *French* Ambassador, then resident with the Duke of *Bavaria*. The Duke, perchance, would faine have treated : but I doe not find that the King was very forward to suffer himselfe to be the second time abused with that stale tricke of entertaining such a *Treaty*, as he might suspect to be intended, merely to delude *action*.

Whilst some are employed about finding out this best place

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of advantage for the bridge ; the King gives order unto the Swedes * his Carpenters, and unto the *Fins*, his Pioners ; to breake downe the houses of the neighbour villages ; and to bring such timber, plancks, and boords, as might be fit for a bridge-worke. The place appointed for the working of the bridge, was at *Oberendorff* ; a small Dorp some halfe an *English* mile from the very point, where the King intended to lay it over. The place resolved upon, was betwixt *Rain* and *Thierhambten* ; just upon a point of land : made so, by the crooking or bending of the River. The ground on the Kings side, was a pikes length higher banckt, and playner withall, then that on *Tillyes* : which was both lower, and wooddy. There was a tryall made first of all, to lay a floate-bridge ; but the River would not endure that : for notwithstanding it be not above thirty or forty paces over at the most, yet by reason of the straight course of it, the stremme sets very swift and violent.

All the materials being now prepared ; the King about nine at night, upon the fourth of *Apriill*, advances some 1000 *Commanded men*, unto the place aforesaid. Two houres after, they begin to worke a *running Trench* round about the crooked banke of the River, that the Muskettiers out of that, might with more security give fire into the Wood on the other side of the River. This *Line* or *Trench*, had a great Battery at each end of it, for halfe and quarter Cannon : together with many lesser *Batteryes* betweene, all along about the *Point*, for the smaller field pieces to play upon : which were every-where intermingled with Muskettiers also. Whilst the Pioners are thus a working, the King in divers other places (both above it and below) gives false fires and Alarms, both with Muskets and smaller fielding peeces, for to amuse the enemy ; that till the morning they could not imagine where to find him.

By sixe on the Thursday morning, *Apriill 5.* was this worke finished, the Cannon mounted, the Arches or Tressels for the bridge, with the planckes and other materialls, all brought ;

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brought; and ready to be laide into the River. These Tressels, were to have great stones or weights tyed unto their legges, to sinke them withall; and were to be no longer, then to reach just unto the bottome of the River, so that the planckes were to lye even almost with the very Water. The longest Tressels were about foure yards long: which were for the channell of the River. By that time it was day-light, Generall *Tilly* begins to perceive the Kings designe, and falls *Tilly* opposes to worke against him in the Wood: whose Pioners when the King, the King heard chopping downe the trees, he gave order immediately unto his men, to give them a *Salvee* or a *Good morrow* (as he cald it) both with their Cannon and their Muskets. About 8 a clocke the same morning, the King in two small Boats that he had, sends over the *Swedes* and *Fins* his Pioners and Carpenters, unto the other side of the River. The designe was, to have them make up a small *Halfe-moone*, with a *Stocket* or *Pallisadoe* unto it: which should both answer that small worke that *Tilly* had made for his Muskettiers to lode in, almost right before the said point of the River: and to cover the Bridge withall, from the greater shot; which this *Halfe-moone* still latched. The *Fins* and *Swedes* laboured upon the worke, and made good the place; till that about 4 a clock in the afternoone, both it was finished, and they relieved.

The King all this while, is diligent in laying over his bridge, and *Tilly* as busie to raise up Batteryes to beate it downe againe. The King himselfe stird not all that night, nor the next day, from the very end of the bridge: nor the King of *Bohemia* from him, for the most part. *Tilly* upon the edge of the thicket, close unto the River, raises up a *Trench* first, to lode his Muskettiers in, as we told you: and about Musket shot further within the wood, gives order for the making of a very great *Worke*: that if the King should put over his bridge, he might by power of that *Worke*, and by cutting downe of the trees about it; have beene able (at least) to have hindred his further passage. The small and great shot, goe off incessantly on both sides all this while; and they

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The Swedish Intelligencer.

they continue thus with extreme hot execution upon one another, till about eleven a clocke at noone the same day. About which time, the Generall *Altringer* with the shot of a Field-pece (which grased upon his temples) was spoyled and carryed off in the Duke of *Bavariaes* owne Coach. Whether hee dyed of the blow, shortly after, was not a great while known in these parts: though now it be sure he is indifferently well recovered, and with *Walenstein*. Some say, that hee became crazed in the braine upon it: for mine owne part, I would be loth it should be so: for then hath that shot, spoyled one of the best Head-peeces of *Germany*, one of the neatest Schollers of the Empire.

Tilly himselfe was enforced to come up to the point, and into the very face of the danger, to give directions: where within halfe an houre after *Altringers* mis-chance; he also received a Musket shot in the thigh a little above the knee, which prooved a mortall wound unto him. This fatall accident of this brave old Generall, did so amaze, not the Common souldours alone, but the Duke of *Bavaria* himselfe also; (who now staid behind in the groave with the Infantry:) that so soone as ever the sad newes was brought unto him, notwithstanding he were *Generalissimo* over the whole Forces; yet he instantly tooke horse upon it, poited with all speed into *Ingolstar*; not staying so much as to give order, either for the continuing of the begun designe, or for the marching away of the army.

Tilly being carryed off, and the Duke gone: the afternoon is spent on the Kings side, as the forenoone had beene; which was with unceasant thunders and volleys of small and great shot. Among the *Bavarians*, those that understood of the spoyling of their two Generalls, and the flight of the Duke, by degrees and disorder, they one after another retreated from their Charge: whilst others that knew not of it, stoutly maintained the encounter. Little dreamt the King of it all this while: whose men still continue their working.

working. By foure in the afternoone, is the bridge finisht : The King ^{finishes his} as 2. houres after, the little *Halfe-moone* and *Pallisadoe* also are, ^{finishes his} on the other side of the water before the end of the bridge. ^{Bridge.} This done, the Kings owne Company of his *Life-guards* is sent over the bridge, for the manning of the *Halfe-moone* ; for feare the enemy should have fallen upon it. In the beginning of the night, other of the *Bavarians* begin to retire, and to draw off their *Ordnance* ; and that in such haste, that they forgot to command off their *Out-guards*, which lay all along upon the side of the River.

The next morning, the King sends over a Partee of some thirty *Scottish* Muskettiers commanded by Captaine *Forbes*, to see what the *Bavarians* were doing in the Wood ; for that he had lately heard no more of them. Here could *Forbes* find but two *Horse-Sentryes* upon the edge of the Wood ; whom he tooke prisoners : who when they were brought unto the King, protested that they were ignorant of the re-treate of the rest of their fellowes.

But to returne a little backe. The King not knowing of *Tillyes* wounding, or the Dukes fleeing ; durst not adventure that evening to put his forces over the bridge : but spends the rest of the night in drawing up his army before it. This being done, order is given unto the Infantry or foote, to march over in the first place : and of all them Sir *John Hepburn* with his *Brigade* was to have the honor of the *Vanguard* ; The King understanding by *Forbes* of this great and unhoped for newes ; he alters thereupon all his former intended resolution : commanding the next morning, Aprill sixth, 500 Horse first, and 300 more after them, to passe over into the *Bavarian* forsaken Quarters. The first 500 being advanced thorow the Wood, and into the plaine beyond it ; there cut downe a many of the *Bavarian* straglers, that had beene too slow in following of their fellowes. Some other *Swedish* troopes are instantly also commanded towards *Rain* ; which though *Tilly* had left reasonably well fortified, yet this former feare amongst his party, made it nothing so resitable

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sitable to the *Swedes*. They presently entring the Towne, find some wagons, and many horses, ready laden with the enemies goods; which are made good booty: but the Towne paying 30000 dollars to the King, are freed from pillaging. This was the first Towne, that the King tooke in *Bavaria*. There was it understood, that both the Duke of *Bavaria*, and the two wounded Generalls, parted the night before towards *Newburg*; whither they first retired: and from thence with as many of their Army as were then come to them, unto *Ingolstadt*.

To returne to the King and his *Leaguer*. The rest of that Fryday, Aprile sixth, is spent in the marching over of more Horse, and of three *Brigades* of *Infantry*: together with most of the *Artillery*. The *Infantry* already marcht over, encampt that night upon the edge of the plaine, a little without the Wood: the rest that were left behind, sitting downe just before the bridge.

And now for that such as are skilled in the Arts of war, will desire to be satisfied with the *reason*, as well as to heare the *successe* of the *Action* (in which oftentimes *Chance* may have as great a share, as *Wisedome*:) we will therefore affoord them a briefe discourse upon the Kings great *Judgement*, as well as we have done the relation of his fortune.

The reason of the Kings putting over his bridge at this place was, that hee might have the better conveniency, both by flanckering it on either side to defendi it from the annoyance of the enemy; and that being as it was, just upon the Point: it could not be touched by *Tillyes* batteryes, which were on each hand of the bridge, though he very often removed his Cannon to that purpose. For notwithstanding *Tilly* had (with as much judgement and advantage as possibly might be) raised his Batteryes, not cloase unto the Rivers side, but at a distance from the banke: yet were all his shot so kept off by the round and sudden shouldering away of the banke of the River at either end, that his Ordnance could not possibly come to beare upon the bridge; but that either the bullets fell short and were

the Kings rea-
son for the
choice of the
place of his
bridge.

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were latcht by the little *Half-moone*, or hill upon the high banke above the bridge ; or else flew quite over the whole leaguer. As for the raising of a Battery right before the face of the point ; that could not *Tilly* on the sudden come to doe : for besides that he was hindered by the wood ; the fury of the Kings both small and great shot, would at so neere a distance have spoild him as many men, as had adventured upon the service : and the Kings Batteryes being first up, would not suffer *Tilly* to mount any of his Cannon right before him.

And yet for all this, there appeares to be more then a humane direction in it : seeing the King was made constant against all the minds and judgements of his greatest Commanders. For when the day before, he asked the advice of his ablest Generalls ; and they, notwithstanding they saw him so farre already engaged in the action, as he could not come off with his honor ; had freely (all of them) professed their utter dislike of the designe : yet did the King plainly tell them, that he continued against all their reasons, constant unto his owne purpose. Yea, there appeares not onely a more then humane direction, but a *benediction* also, in the easinesse of the attaining of the passage : which very much exceeded all the Kings owne hopes of it. For when the day before he perceived *Tilly* to begin to worke against him ; he apprehended so much danger in his owne designe, that should he loose but 2000 men in winning of his passage, he should thinke (as he confessed) that he had made a thrifte purchase of his entrance into *Bavaria*. When the next day (in like manner) that himselfe being marcht over with the Horse, had with his owne eyes perceived how sufficiently *Tilly* was providing to entertaine him ; he blest himselfe for his good successe in it : saying to the King of *Bohemia*, and divers of his Commanders then about him ; *That this dayes action was neere of as great a consequence, as that of Leipsich.*

And so indeed it is worthy to be esteemed by all souldiours. When Cardinall *Pasman* (the Emperours Ambassador with

The Kings
judgement of
the difficulty
and conse-
quence of the
action.

the Pope) had the first newes brought him of this victory, and of the manner of it : hee to his friends pronounced *A. Etum est, There is an end of all* : which some interpreted to be meant of the *Empire*, and of the *Romish religion*. *Caiaphas* (you know) did once prophecy. All this, as it gives us cause to admire Gods great providence, in creating such a place as this crooking of the *Lech*, (and God surely had a purpose in it :) so it wonderfully likewise commends the Kings judgement, for so suddenly and so solidely apprehending the advantage of it. And yet, for all this , had not the King escaped so cheape, as with the lives of two thousand brave men ; had not *He* that directed *Davids* sling-stone into *Goliaths* forehead; guided one bullet unto *Altringers* forehead, and another into *Tillyes* thigh-bone : had not this brave old Count beene thus spoyled, the King had found but an unfriendly well-come into *Bavaria*, from that second and greater *Worke*, which *Tilly* had laboured upon, from sixe in the morning to eleven, but not yet finished. That worke I meane , which is before mentioned in the wood. And yet would there have falne out another difficultie, which the King could never till then come to know of. Thus. Suppose he had peaceably passed the bridge; & *Tilly* had let him doe it without disturbance : yet would not the place, (hee being over) have suffered him to have charged the *Bavarians*, with above two *Brigades* in front ; and that, by reason of advancing thorow the Woods , necessarily in disorder too ; neither of which two could possibly have beene avoyded : As for the *Bavarians*, they could have answered him from the Plaine, with sixe *Brigades* in front ; and by advantage of the plaine ground, all in order too. They might also have had the advantage of their already planted Batteryes ; especially if that great one had beene perfected : when as the Kings on the other side of the River, must necessarily all this while have beene silent , or have shot into the enemy, thorow his owne people.

And this is the Story of the Kings bridge over the *Lech* : the description wherof we have thought worthy to be here in

Figure

Figure imparted unto you. A Peece it is, though not of so curious an *Architecture* as that of ten dayes worke over the *Rhine*, wherein *Cesar* * so much pleases himselfe in the large and accurate description of it: though, doubtlesse, it will proove as famous. Wee by this also see, what the losse of a medium. * *Lib 4. de Bell Gallico: circa*
brave Generall is. *Constantinople* held out manfully against the *Turkes*, so long as *Justinian* the Generall was unwounded: but he fainting at the losse of his owne blood, and going from the walles; and the Emperour after him, (as the Duke of *Bavaria* now did after *Tilly*) that famous Citie was at that assault conquered, and the *Easterne Empire* too, presently after it. And this is the Action of *Thursday* the fifth of *Aprill*, a day almost as famous as *Wednesday*, the former seventh of *September*.

The Explanation of the Letters in the former
Figure of the Bridge.

A The King of *Sweden*: and the King of *Bohemia* by him.
B The *Bridge*.
C A *Trench* or *Brestworke*; in which the Kings *Muskettiers* were lodged: betwixt the severall *Batteryes* of the great *Ordnance*. Which Muskettiers, are represented by the small stroakes, made right forwards.
D Divers little *Field-peeces*.
E *Plat-formes* or *Batteryes* for the Kings greater *Cannon*.
F The *Halfe-moone* with its *Pallisadoe* or *Stocket*, beyond the *Bridge*; and for the guard of it. It was scarcely bigge enough to lodge a hundred men in.
G A little *Underwood*, or low *Bushy* place.
H A place voyd of *Wood*: which was a *Bache*, sometimes over-flowne.
I A *Brestworke*, for *Tillyes* Muskettiers.
KK *Tilly* and *Altringer*: or the place where they were shot.
L The *high Wood*, where the Duke of *Bavaria* stood.
M *Tillyes* great *Batteryes* to shoote downe the *Bridge*.
N A small *riveret* running thorow the *Wood*.
O *Tillyes* great *Brestworke*; not yet finished. Begun at sixe in the morning; and left off when he was shot.
P Some *Horse-guards* of *Tillyes*: layd scatteringly here and there all along the river, from *Rain* to *Ausburg*.
Q The Kings *Horse-guards*, and *Horse-Sentryes*.
R A *hole* in the earth, or casuall advantageable place; where some of the Kings *Foot* were lodged.
S The *Hill* behind *Tillyes* great *Work*.
T The fashion of the *Tressels*, or *Arches* for the Kings *Bridge*.

Vpon Saterday, April 7, that part of the Cavallery which had marched over the day before, advancit further into the country, under the command of *Gustavus Horn*; and the Infantry yet on the further side, marcht over to the other troopes already in *Bavaria*: with whom, in the plaine before the wood, they were all drawne up into *Battaglia*. This done, and the King with his whole Army now come over into *Bavaria*, and a small garrison left behind him in the town of *Rain*; he marches forward towards *Ausburg*. Order is likewise given to the Cavallery yet left behind, to advance onwards upon the *Schramblad* side of the *Lech* (where they yet were;) and to bring the greater Cannon along with them; which the King as yet durst not adventure over his new made bridge. That same Saterday night, the King takes and lodges in, the Towne and Cloister of *Thierhaubten*, a pretty Towne on the East side of the small riveret *Aicha*: which is the same that runnes along by the *Lechs* side, thorow the Wood where *Tillyes* late Quarter was. The next day the Vantguard of his Maiesties Horse, tooke in the Towne of *Friedberg*: the Magistrates bringing out the keyes to them. The King goes towards *Ausburg*.

Whilst the King was upon his march towards *Ausburg*, there came an Ambassador to present himselfe unto him. His message was, to excuse the Duke of *Newburg*, concerning his admitting of *Tilly* into his Towne and Countrey; and to iustifie it to be no breach of the *Neutrality*. The King gave him a round answer. That they had deceived him, promising much both by letters and Ambassages, and keeping no promise: but giving leave rather and aide unto the enemies, to passe and repasse; sending him Ordnance and Ammunition: receiving his garrisons; advancing forward, helping and favouring him in all things: nothing respecting my letters, (saith he) but threatening my Trumpet and shooting at him. The Ambassador being much perplexed at this answer, with a trembling voice, and more humbled posture, replies: That he had letters from his Highnesse his Master: whereunto his An Ambassador from the Duke of *Newburg*. Maicsty

Bavaria offers to treat.

Maiesty very suddenly returned, Your Master is like you, and you are like your Master; you doe nothing but devise together, how to deceive us *Protestants*: but I hope to pay you for it. The King went onwards againe; and the Ambassador having letters also unto Prince *August*, desires his mediation unto the King, for the admittance of a *Bavarian* Ambassador one *Spierinck*: but no answer would the King vouchsafe unto it. At length the King sent him word backe, that he should cause 200000 pound of bread, and 300 tunnes of beere, to be forthwith delivered unto his army: and if for the time to come they would shew themselues true friends, they should then expect his Maiesties further pleasure and declaration towards them. Soone after this, the King receives tidings of the enemies finall quitting of *Newburg* Towne; and that they had broken downe one of the Arches of the bridge, for feare of being pursued: and carried away 6 Field-peeces, and some powder and shot along with them. Hereupon is Colonell *Newburg* taken. *Landsberger* with five hundred Horse, dispatched away to take possession of that City: to repaire the bridge; and to suffer no body, (especially of the Councell or chiefe Magistrates) to goe out of the gates of it.

The King besieges Ausburg. Sunday, April 8 about 5 at night, the King arrived at *Lechhausen*, a small Dorp within lesse then 2 *English* miles of *Ausburg*.

This famous City, 10 *English* miles distant from *Donawert*, is seated in *Schwabland* upon the river *Lech*, over which it hath 2 bridges into *Bavaria*. Tis one of the greatest and richest of *Germany*: and hath this honour aboue all the rest, that it gives title of distinction to the *Protestant Religion*: which, ever since it had by learned men beene agreed upon at this towne, hath beene called the *Augustane Confession*. The hinderance of the exercise of which Religion in it, had beene

* See the *Diet of Leipsich*, pag. 24. complained of by the * *Leaguers of Leipsich*. Since which time, the privileges had likewise beene infringed; *Popish* Magistrates and garrisons put upon them; and the *Protestants* disarmed. Thus then, the King, who professes himselfe most principally,

cipally, to be the friend and Patron of all the wronged Imperiall Cities in generall; had more especiall reasons to deliver this above all the rest: for if *Iudea* of old, were accounted an *holy Land*; and the warres for the recovery of it, *Holy warres*: and that principally for reverence unto the *Law*, which first went out of *Sion*: then was there a good degre of *Essay 2. 3.* piety also in this endeavour of the Kings, for the deliverance of this City.

The King at his comming before the towne, found 4500 souldiers in it: which by these degrees came up to this number. Vnto their former garrison, are 1500 *Bavarians* thrust in, March 15. The Lord *Otho Henry Fugger* being Governor, brings 4 Companies more of the *Fuggers* souldiers, into the Suburbs of *St. James*. March 25 are 2 other *Bavarian* Companies put in. April 3 both *Tilly* and *Altringer* come into the towne, to take order for the souldiory: and Colonell *Breda*, then preferred to be Generall, hath order to strengthen his garrison with 600 Foote, and 400 Horse more. In the end of March, were the *Protestant* Citizens disarmed: their Armes being fetcht from house to house by 40 muskettiers. And this was the present state of the City.

The King being encamped at *Lechausen*, first of all beates in their *Out-guards*, which those of *Ausburg* had laid thereabouts. They thereupon burne downe their bridge before *Lechausen*; raise up a *worke* to keepe the King from coming over there, and shoote incessantly at his people. He sending out some Dragoones to answer, and beat them off; pitches his campe immediately in the plaine *Campagnia*, at such a distance from the wals of the City of *Ausburg*, as a Cannon might even almost range her bullet at randome to it. The rest of the day, and the Munday following; the King labours about the laying of 2 bridges over the *Lech*: one above the Towne, and another below it. This same Munday, he likewise causes some intercepted packets of letters to be opened; by which he understood the present constitution of the City: the double feare that the garrison had; that is to say, of the

The Kings
Letters to the
Towne.

The Cities
Answer.

Horns Letter
to them.

Protestants within, (should they recover their Armes) as well as of the enemy without the Citie. Some prisoners affirmed also, the hopes they had of *Tillyes* or *Crazes* coming to relieve them. The King exceeding loth to deface this faire Towne, which his care of it had rather receive upon faire delivery, writes his Letters the same day unto them. The Contents were, An admiration of His Majesty at the Townes-mens behaviours in these Warres; that whereas they needed not to have meddled, yet had they sundry times received in his enemies. For which, although hee had just cause to requite them, by destroying them and their Citie; yet giving way unto his naturall clemency, (which tended alwayes to preserve all he could from their owne destruction) He therefore did now make proffer unto them of his Grace, if so be they did presently discharge their garrison, and declare themselves for his Majesty.

The Citizens answer was, They were extremely perplexed that His Majesty had conceived any offence, at their receiving a garrison into their Citie: which they protest to haue beene done, not to oppose him, but that they had beene enforced to it by their obedience unto the Emperour. And had His Majestie preuented that Imperiall command, and offered them a *Swedish* garrison first, they would neuer haue refused it. And whereas the licencing of their garrison, was a thing aboue their power: they humbly besought His Majestie to make them some gracious offer, and aduise them to depart quietly. A faire Answer.

Together with the Kings Letter, did *Gustavus Horn* (now come backe unto the Kings army) send this word unto the Governor of the Towne, that he supposed him to be a Gentleman, who desired to shew himselfe no lesse prudent and profitable, then resolute and courageous for his Masters service. And therefore he thought him farre enough from so dangerous an ambition, as might induce him to hazard so renowne a City of the Empire: whereby instead of preserving it with reason, he should lose it rather and overthrow it, by

by a too late repentance, and a course inevitable. And if he trusted upon the numbers of the people, yet he could not be confident upon the strength of his Fortifications: and as the valour of his men had as yet gained no renowne, so could he no wayes expect any succours from the Duke of *Bavaria*; who upon the last defeate received neere *Rain* (where he lost both his highlyest esteemed Generalls *Tilly* and *Altringer*) had no greater care at that present, then to save his owne head. Therefore doe I (saith he) offer my selfe to intercede for you with the King my Master, to make a faire and a reasonable accord with you: wherein, (were I but once assu-
red, that the Towne would be forthwith freed of her garri-
son) I doubt not to prevaile with him.

To the Townes-mens answer, the King thus replied. The Kings re-
ply to their
Letter.

That he was glad to heare they were not willing to hazard their flourishing estate; nor to make conjunction with his enemyes, or opposition against him: but yet did he once more advise them to discharge their garrison, which hee knew well enough were no way able to withstand so numerous a people as the Burgers were; much lesse to fight against such an Army, as himselfe now had. Yet nevertheless in favour of the City, would he not refuse them some equitable agree-
ment, but was willing to condiscend unto some reasonable conditions with the said garrison.

This gracious answer received, the *Popish* magistracy now calling in the *Protestants*; cause them (which they knew would have more Credit with the King) to witnesse with them unto his Majesty, that the garrison had beene forced upon them, by the earnest commandement of the Emperour; and that by threatnings mixt with promises, had the absolute command both over the soldiours and the Citizens, beene put into the hands of that present Governor. Where-
fore, seeing the discharging of the garrison was not in their power, and that they feared, the Governor would not out but upon faire termes; unless which were granted, the busi-
nesse might runne to such extremities, as might tend to the

The Citizens
second Answer.

destruction of so noble and flourishing a State. Therefore did they most humbly beseech his Majesty to consider, that all the *Protestants* being now disarmed, and disabled thereby to assist the well inclined *Catholikes*, in any forcible attempt against the garrison: he would let this be an argument unto him, to grant so gracious conditions unto the said Governor, as might induce him to depart presently. And so by the bounty and Clemency of his Majesty, should their City be preserved from the threatened ruine and desolation.

All this moved not the Governor nor his garrison; therefore had the King other arguments to perswade them. All this time went his two bridges on, which were no sooner finisht, and the King ready to march over, and to bring his men to approach the walls; but they who had thundered all this time with their Ordnance, as if they intended to worke wonders; send out to the King to desire a calme parlee, ere ever they came to shot of Musket. Tis best treating (you may perceive) with a mans sword in his hand: and to joyne an *armed Orator* in Commission with a *Gowned*.

The garrison
parlies, and
yeelds.

The next day, Aprile tenth, the *Bavarian* garrison of 4500 Horse and Foote, march forth of the City; being all for the most part, new levyed people. The King himselfe now asking them whether they would forsake the Emperor, and serve him; 500 of the old souldiours presently came over and tooke pay of him. The rest marcht away with complete armes, and were convoyed unto *Landsberg*. Into their roomes, did the King put 24 Companies of Foote, and foure Cornets of Horse which were enquartered round about within the City, next unto the walls of it. The Count of *Hohenlo* or *Hollock* was appointed Governor, and yong *Oxenstiern* had the Command over the *Militia*.

Wednesday, Aprill eleventh, the King being yet in his Quarter at *Lech-hausen*, commands the *Catholike Councell*, the *Protestant Deputies*, and the *Guards* of the City (which last were all *Papists*) to appeare before him. The *Romane Catholikes* he displaced, restoring the *Protestants* to their former

mer offices. The priviledges were still continued unto the Towne, without any diminution of their *Charter*.

Whilst the King was at this siege, some 2000 Boores (or thereabouts) having gotten together in the Woods and Mountaines, were now comming downe towards *Ausburg*. Some Boores
appeare, and
are dispersed. The King hearing of their approach, does them the honour to goe out in person against them with a Partee of 500 Horse; before whose comming the Boores were already fled, and dispersed: Captaine *Hobb* had taken fright at the sight of certaine small troopes of Horse, ere ever the King could come neere him. These Countrey people being displeased with the new contributions; r'allee more of their fellowes together upon the same quarrell. All assembling towards the end of the monthe about *Schrobenhausen*, (mid-way betwixt *Ausburg* and *Ingolstat*) overlay and kill some fifty *Swedish* Souldiours; and not kill them onely, but like Boores indeed, mangle and misuse them, savagely cutting off their noses, &c. In revenge of which and other the like prankes; the *Swedish* burne 200 of the Boores Dorps and houses. The Boores having now no houses to goe to (such is the misery of the warres) runne with open mouth and stirre up their Cosins and neighbours of *Schwaben* and *Tirole*: the event whereof we shall anon tell you.

Vpon the fourth of Aprill, betwixt eleven or twelve at noone, his Majesty made his Royall entrance into *Ausburg*: where the first thing he did, was to goe into Saint *Annes* Church, which had formerly beene taken from the *Protestants*. Being here accompanied by his Majesty of *Bohemia*, The King en-
ters the Citie. and waited upon by Palatine *August*, Duke *William of Saxon-Weymar*, John Duke of *Holstein*, Christopher Marquesse of *Baden*, with many Princes, Lords, &c. He was entertained into the Church with the *Organs* and *Quire* singing. After which was sung the 103 Psalme: and then followed the Sermon, preached by Doctor *Fabritius* the Kings owne *Chaplaine*, upon Psalme 12. verse 5. The words were fitted to the occasion. *For the oppression of the poore, for the sighing of the needy;*

Makes his
Thanksgiving.

needy: now will I arise (saith the Lord) I will set him in safety from him that puffeth at him. After the Sermon, followed a most solemn *Thanksgiving* for the victory. Many teares were shed, and many a heart leapt for joy, at this Exercise. After the Sermon and *Thanksgiving*, was *Te Deum*, or *We Praise thee O God*, sung in *High Dutch*; the Organs playing as before: the like being done throughout all the Churches of the City.

From thence, both their Majesties, &c. went to the great market place, called *The Wine market*: where there was a guard made of some souldiours, whilst the Citizens tooke their Oath unto the King. It was read by *Philip Sadler, Councillor of State and Secretary*.

The Contents were. 1. To remaine faithfull and loyall to his Majesty, and the Crowne of *Sweden*.

2. To further the good and wel-fare of the same; and to hinder and prevent all prejudices and domages of it.

3. To doe all those things, and performe all those Duties to his Majesty: which Subjects owe unto their naturall Prince, and lawfull Magistrate. So helpe them God, both in soules and bodies.

Heereupon, the *new Councell* of the City being sent for, and the King consulting awhile with them apart: went to his lodging at the Lord *Marquard Fuggers* house, where dinner was provided for him. After dinner, followed the *Presents*; which received, his Majesty went to the *Statehouse* and the *Storehouse*; wherein besides plenty enough of all military provisions, he found a magazine of Armes (all moderne fashioned & good) sufficient for 30000 men, as they of the Towne have written it. The King gives order to have the Towne new fortified; to have foureteene Skonces and Bastiles built about it: and the City to be restored to the exercise of their owne *Augustane Confession*.

The King goes
towards *Ingol-*
st.

Ausburg being taken order for; the King Aprill 15. leaves the City, and marches by *Friedberg* unto *Waho*: which (as I take it) the *Mapps* write *Aicha*, as one Relation also doth.

doth. This *Aicha* is a walled Towne, and 10 *English* miles onward of his way to *Ingolstat*, whither he was now marching. Hereabouts was the King met by an Ambassador from Duke *Albertus* of *Bavaria*, second brother unto the ruling Duke *Maximilian*. The Ambassador humbly presents unto his Maiesy, that his said Master Duke *Albertus*, had alwaies hitherto behaved himselfe as a quiet Prince, having never been a partaker in all these differences. For which reason his hope now was, (which favour he also craved) that his Maiesy would spare his poore Children, Subiects and Country; and not trouble them with any military charges or molestations. To all which the King replied, That the King of *Bohemiae* Mother and Brother had not beene spared, by the other party; notwithstanding they had no wayes engaged themselues in these warres: but on the contrary, all their estates had without all iustice and reason beene taken from them. The Gentleman perceiving the Kings resolution by his answer, returnes with it to his Master: who presently packs up, and retires with his Lady and Children into the neighbour Bishoprick of *Salzburg*: whither the Duchesse of *Bavaria*, wife to the Duke now in action, was with-drawn beforehand. Duke *Albertus* is glad after this, to send another messenger unto the King, to compound for the rating of the contributions of his Country.

The next day, April 16. the King continues his march towards *Ingolstat*: with his whole Army both Horse and Foot, now put into Battaglia; the Cannon marching upon their right hand. In this order he still advances, till he comes within sight of *Ingolstat*: where by reason of a certaine Morasse, he is enforced to quit that forme of marching. Leading them therefore forward still, (according as the place would suffer him) he comes within 2 *English* miles of the towne: where for that night in plaine *Campagnia* he encamped. The next day he advanc't further; passing in the way by 3 or 4 bridges, over some little brookes that runne that way into the *Danuby*. Passing on therefore beyond *Stinne*, till the Vantguard were

come

The King lies
downe before
Ingolstat.

comme within musket-shot almost of the very walls of *Ingolstat*: he close by the gallowes bridge began to cast up a *Redoubt* and a *Halfe-moone*, upon that side of the bridge, namely, which is neerest unto the Towne. The reason of the Kings approaching so neere the walls, was; because of a hope he had upon some Correspondents in the towne, by whose meanes he trusted to have it rendred. This day and the next, were spent in working: not at the Gallowes bridge onely, but in casting up a *regular Trench* for the safeguard of the whole Army, which was now brought within Cannon shot of the Towne.

This Towne of *Ingolstat* (which hath an *University* of *Je-suites* in it) is one of the very strongest pieces of all *Germany*. It belongs unto the Duke of *Bavaria*; notwithstanding the *Danuby* be betwixt it and his Country. The *Approaches* towards the towne, be troublesome; and the *Fortifications* about it, very good. Two bridges it now had over the *Danuby*; one within the towne, and another without it; which last is the same we called the Gallowes bridge, right before which, the King was encamped. This was guarded with 2 great *Works*, on the same side the King lay on.

The Duke of *Bavaria*, was by this time marcht quite thorow *Ingolstat*: and lay now encamped with his whole Army on the other side of the *Danuby*: hard by the banke of it, and so onwards towards *Ratisbone*. So neere the King, that hee might well discerne them out of his Leaguer: though he could not come at him.

They of the towne, shot very fiercely all this while with their great *Ordnance*, into the Kings Trenches: with which first and last, they kild him some three hundred souldiers. The first night after, (which was Thursday, April 19.) some of the Towne issuing out, made a show of themselues by one of the Forts neere the Gallowes bridge. The King upon sight of them giving out a wish, that he had some brave fellowes which would undertake them: divers troopes both of Horse and Foot presently making out, beat them backe into the said

Halfe-

A sally

beaten in:

Halfe-moone, and enter it *pell mell* together with them. But the piece being open behind, no sooner were the salliers received that way into the towne; but that the Ordnance from the walls beat the *Swedish* out againe: it being not to be holden, and the *Swedes* beaten off. by reason of that lying open behind unto the Towne Ord-

On Friday morning, April 20, the King going out to give some directions to his Horse-guards, that lay before one of the enemies bridges a little without the towne; had his Horse shot under him with a Cannon bullet of 14 pound weight. The shot tooke him about the hinder skirt of the saddle; with the force of it turning both Horse and King over and over. The King with this tumbling up and downe, having onely hurt his legge a little; was quickly gotten upon his feete againe. The first word he spake after it to the Squire of his body that then waited upon him, was, *How could they possibly come to hit me? I thought I had beene in covert.* Mounting forthwith upon his Squires horse, he comes riding off unto his Quarter. The same day the young Marquesse *Christofer of Baden* (otherwise called *Durlach*) had halfe his head shot off, as he was commanding his troops close by the same place, where the Kings horse was shot. Iust the same houre of the Marquesse death, dyed the Generall *Tilly* within the towne: and that of the wound received at the *Lech*, after the taking of 4 Splinters out of his thigh. There was a mortall enmity of old, betwixt *Tilly* and this Marquesse: which caused the King to make observation, *How fatall one place and houre, proved to 2 such enemies.* The Marquesse death, made the King more apprehensive of his own danger and delivery: the meditation whereof, formed it selfe into this religious Oration, publikely uttered by his Maiesty before divers of his chiefe Commanders in the Camp before *Ingolstat*.

The late and unfortunate death of the Marquesse of *Baden* (whose fall I am most heartily sorry for, because of those rare vertues that were eminent in him, not unfit to be published to the world) and that thundering Cannon shot withall,

The Kings
horse shot un-
der him.

The Marquesse
of Baden slaine.

Tilly dyes.

The Kings ora-
tion upon his
escape.

doe put me in mind that I am but mortall, and subiect to the same mischances, which the meanest of my subiects are liable unto. It is an universall decree, which neither my Crowne, my Birth, nor my Victories, are any wayes able to reskue or exempt me from. What therefore now remaineth, but that I wholly resigne up my selfe unto the providence of the Almighty? who though he may please to call me out of this world, yet will he not for all that, abandon this so iust a cause, as I have now undertaken for the re-establishment of the *Germane* liberties. He, doubtlesse, will raise up some other more wise, more couragious and valiant then my selfe; who shall put a period unto this warre. I know that the good successe which it hath pleased God to affoord me in my enterprises, hath made some to enuy me: who also labour to perswade the simple, that I endeavour nothing more then mine owne profit; by the robbing and spoyling of others. But I in this case call all those Princes to witnessse, whom I have againe re-established into their own rights and inheritances: and those Creditors also, of whom I have borrowed such hugy summes of money, as at *Franchford* and elsewhere: yea and the dangers too, which I daily expose my Person unto; whether or no I have left mine own kingdome, and those that are *Dearest* to me in this world, for any other end, or with any other intention, but onely to pull downe the tyranny of the House of *Austria*, and to obtaine a solid and a settled peace unto all men.

This Oration of the Kings was here interrupted, by the ioyfull acclamations of the Auditory, and the cheerefull promises of their best assistances: all of them with teares beseeching his Maiesty, to be more carefull in time to come of adventuring his Royall Person; and to continue his first resolutions: as they for their parts there vowed, to persist in their fidelities.

Vpon Sunday, April 22. had the *Danish* Ambassador his Audience of the King. The *French* Ambassador *Monsieur de St. Etienne*, resident with the Duke of *Bavaria*, was come from

from *Munchen* to the Kings Leaguer, to mediate the conditions of a peace. That night went the King of *Sachsen* unto *Newburg*; whither he was accompanied by the King of *Böhmen*, Prince Palatine *August*, *John* Duke of *Holstein*, &c. The King goe to Newburg. They tooke a particular view of the Fortifications of the Towne; of the Church, Colledge, and Magazine. There they lodged that night; and returned very early next morning unto their Leaguer.

The King having beene 4 or 5 dayes already before *Ingolstat*, and perceiving now his correspondency to faile him within the towne: he having at all no purpose of making a long siege of it, resolues to rise and goe towards *Munchen*. Vpon Munday therefore April 23 first sending abroad *Gustavus Horn* with sixe thousand men, to make some spoile upon the Dukes Countrey; he gives order to his army to be ready for their departure. The next day, Tuesday 24. The whole Army rises: of which, this was the order. First, are some Horse sent away before; and after them the Baggage; and then the Cannon and Infantry. The rest of the Horse, together with 600 *Swedish* Muskettiers, were left behind with the Generall *Banier*, to make good the Retreat.

Horn sent to spoyle the Country.The King rises from Ingolstat.

The last men still left behind upon the Point (that is, in the *Halfe-moone* and *Redout* by the Gallowes Port) were no sooner drawne off; but the Towne garrison, (even before the *Swedish* were gone full musket shot from the place) by degrees possesse themselues of the Kings *Works*: for now one comes stealing and peeping in, to see if all the enemies were gone; and then comes another or 2; and so more, one after another. With this, doe the Towne Horse sally likewise, (about some 12 troopes of them) and upon an advantageable place, which was iust upon the passage of the second bridge, and when the *Forlorne Hope* of the Kings Horse (who still man'd the Reere) were to passe the said bridge, doe they fiercely charge the *Forlorne Hope* aforesaid. They giving the Alarne thereupon to the next Body of the Reere; Generall *Banier* instantly faces about towards the Sallyers, with his

A sally repulsed by Banier.

Cavallery : bringing forward some of his Muskettiers withall, to make the enemy giue something backe from the Passe. *Banier* being thus returned backe againe ouer the Passe towards the enemy, they retire skirmishing : till they had led the *Swedish* on to a second place of aduantage, at the Morasse afore mentioned. Here making Halt or a stand ; *Banier* so presses upon them, that hee beats them from this aduantage also. *Banier* hauing passed ouer beyond this place, and with three troopes of Horse onely ; the *Ingolstadians* retreat with their whole Body to a third aduantage, more then Musket shot from the Morasse : where they on both sides continue skirmishing betwixt the two Bodies, for the space almost of a whole houre together.

Banier perceiving they would no more come on, retires backe againe in order, without any more difficultie, marching after the King to *Geisenfelt* : a walled Towne some two Dutch miles from *Ingolstat*, onwards of the way to *Mosburg*. Here the King for that night encamps with his whole Army ; having spent the afternoone, in doing the Funerall Rites unto the Marquesse of *Baden*.

The King thus retired from *Ingolstat* ; those of the Towne make diligent search for the carkasse of his horse, which they had shot under him, and He had caused to be buried. The Horse being found, and digg'd up (which no doubt was a sweet finding) his hide was very curiously taken off, stufft with straw, and hangd up in *Ingolstat* for a *Trophee*, they triumphing over it very glorioufly, and insulting upon the Kings Rising. The horse was a white ambler, which the King very much delighted in : it was his *Ronsarte*, his *Bucephalus*, on which he used to ride about his Army : and yet did he never thinke, his horse should have beene so much made on. Now much good doe it my politike Masters, the Fathers of the *Iesuites Colledge* of *Ingolstat* : for their deepe device no doubt it was ; our *Parliament House* knowes them for old diggers. Yet they wrought but for a dead horse,) as the proverbe is. And this is all, which they had for their brave,

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horse.

and worthily renowned Generall, *John Tserclaes Count of Tilly* : who dyed the same day in *Ingolstat*, that the Kings Horse was shot under him. The King can allow them a *Horse* for a *Generall*, at any time. Twas a brave Palfrey indeed ; but (me thinkes) they might have had a better project with his hyde, then stuft it : had they but made a Drumme of it, the sound of that, would (no doubt) have driven away all the horses of their enemies. But now they have stuft the skinne, what will they doe with the bones ? They should doe well to use them as the *Turkes* did *Scanderbegs* bones at *Lyssa* : which they digd up, and set in Rings and Iewels. Certainlye there was vertue in that Horse, *virtualis contactus* (they knew) had coueighed it into him. But their spight chose rather to use this horse, as those of *Breda* did the *Boate*, by which their Towne had beene taken : they whipt the boate up and downe the streets , and then hangd it up for a *Trophee*. But we have enough (too much will some say) made our selves merry with the *Iesuites* ; who before the King of *Swedens* comming into *Germany*, laught in their sleeves at all the world besides.

The next day (which was Wednesday, Aprill 25) the King marches from *Geisenfelt* to *Mosburg* upon the River *Iser* ; which is some 20 *English* miles to the South-East of *Ingolstat*. Hither did *Gustavus Horn* come againe unto the King : who in his passage backe from burning part of the Country villages, that would not readily give him money ; had easily brought the two walled Townes of *Hohnwart* and *Pfaffenboven*, to a composition. By this time had the *Abbot* of *Saint Georges* (in the way towards *Munchen*) sent in his excuse ; that he was not able to build up againe the new Church of the *Protestants*, which had beene lately taken from them and broken downe : but he was willing and ready to deliver them up his owne Church, so that he might keepe but one ^{Protestant} ^{Churches and Schooles resto-} ^{red.} *Chappell* for his owne use. The *Abbot* of *Saint Maurice*, he also sent word, that he was willing to build up the *Protestants* Church againe, which they lately had in his *Jurisdiction*.

Thus both *Churches* and *Schooles* were againe restored unto the *Protestants* in those parts of *Bavaria*: yea and their *Armes*, (though much empaired) which had before beeene taken from them.

About Aprill 27, are *Gustave Horn* and Sir *John Hepburn*, sent with 3000 Horse and 5000 Foote; to take in *Landshut*: a very dainty little Towne upon the River *Iser* (though the glory of it be chiefly in two Streets) some eight *English* miles to the North-East of *Mosburg*. At the first comming of the *Swedish* forces before the walls, one of their Lieutenants of a troope of Horse, with some few others of his *Cornet*, were shot from an Ambush in the gardens. That morning, had some 1300 *Bavarian* Horse (after a very hard march of nine *Dutch* miles together) put themselves into the Towne: so that they seemed yet to be resolute upon the resistance. But so soone as ever they perceived the grosse of the 5000 Foote, to be come up, they retreated out of the Towne unto the further side of the River *Iser*; breaking the bridges downe behind them. The Towne paid 100000 Dollars to the King for its ransome; and gave *Gustavus Horn* 20000 besides, for a gratuity. *Landshut* being thus taken, and Sir *John Hepburn* (for the time) left Governour, *Gustavus Horn* went backe againe to the King; who two dayes after the taking, comes and lodges in it. The day before this, was the handsome Towne of *Landspurg* upon the River *Lech*, taken by Colonell *Slammerdorff* with 300 Dragooners: sent (as I collect) from the Governour of *Ausburg*. After *Landspurg*, were the two good Townes of *Fuessen* and *Schongau*; both more Southerly and higher up the *Lech* taken also. In *Landshut*, the King staid some five or sixe dayes. Some of the reason for which (besides the refreshing of the Arny) may be a thought the King had towards *Ratisbone* or *Regensburg*: whence (as tis written) divers had sent to sollicite him to come thither. And indeed the whole Country betwixt *Landshut* and *Regensburg*, for four *Bavarian* Leagues together, was all the way open. Some Partees are about this time

Horn and Hepburn take in *Landshut*.

Landspurg taken.

time sent that way ward, who had divers skirmishes with the *Bavarians*, that had come out of *Ratisbone*. For the Duke of *Bavaria* and *Cratz* (now Generall in *Tillyes* place) were gone by this time from *Ingolstat* into *Ratisbone*: which Towne, now surprized by the Duke, was also foulely plundered by his souldiors ; whose reason for it was, As good they doe it, as the *Swedish*. But the King now understanding *Wallenstein* to be about *Passaw*, upon the frontiers towards *Bohemia*, and that though upon a military emulation, he had never heartily affected *Tilly* ; no nor the Duke of *Bavaria* neither, since he had at the Dyet of *Ratisbone* wrought the Emperour to cashiere him : yet now for the common causes sake, and upon *Cratz* his entreaty, (who had beene one of his Colonels last yeere in *Pomerania*) he might (as the King judged) be drawne to doe something for *Bavaria*. His Majesty thus misdoubting the worst ; esteemes it not fit for his designe, to adventure one against two ; and resolves withall to passe no further to the North or North-East at this time. Purposing now to tickle *Bavarinas* Minniken string ; so soone as ever he had received his money from *Landshut*, Hee, May 4th, turnes backe againe towards *Mosburg*, and thorow that unto *Freising* : a City and Bishops See upon the same River, two *Bavarian* Leagues onwards of the way towards *Munchen*. Here lay he all night, May fifth : the Towne paying 50000 Dollars for its ransome ; and the whole *Bishopricke* quietly yeelding to a Contribution. The King goes to *Freising*.

May sixth, the Army removes againe towards *Munchen* ; 18 miles South of *Freising*, and upon the West of the *Iser*. This *Munchen* (pronounced *Minniken*) is one of the neatest of all *Germany* : and the Dukes curious Palace, with the and so to *Munchen*. Jesuits sumptuous Church : a second *Escorial*, as some terme

It had beene the Nest and *Office of Receipt* for the richest and greatest pillages, that the Duke himselfe, or his Generall *Tilly*, have for many yeeres warres together, gotten from the *Protestant* Princes. The Duke of *Bavaria* was still about *Ratisbone* : and there much troubled with sore eyes, caused

caused by the smoake of his owne Country. And yet out of a hope to see himselfe once againe Master of this Palace, had he beene so carefull to preserve it, that he had sent a command unto his Chancellor to deliver it over, when-ever the King should make towards it. The Deputies of the Towne likewise, had beene at *Freising* with the King, May 5th, and had made tender of 200000 Dollars for theyr ransome: which would not be accepted. Vpon Munday in the forenoone, May 7th, the King shewed himselfe in faire Battaglia before it: although by thattime he were come within a *Dutch* mile: the Deputies had againe met him, and there presented the towne keyes unto him, with a promise of 300000 Dollars. The chiefe condition which they requested was, that their garrison might march out without disturbance: which was indeed in the Kings power to have hindered, his Horse lying every where up and downe in the Country. The King enters the towne the same day; accompanied by the King of *Bohemia*, Palatine *August*, and 3 of his Regiments, taking up his lodging in that sumptuous Palace: the rest of his Army being enquartered in and about the City.

The next day, the King went to see the Magazine and Armories; where great store of armes and ammunition were found, but no Ordnance: at which the King not a little wondering; espied by and by divers of the carriages; by which he guessed, as the truth was, that the ~~peeces~~ were buried under-ground. These *dead ones* (as he cald them) he caused the Boores with ropes and leavers, to raise up without a miracle. There were 140 faire Peeces of brasse Ordnance; and in one, 30000 pieces of gold, said to be found. Among the rest, were 12 eminent ones; by the Duke called the 12 *Apostles*: though surely the *Apostles* were never such *sonnes of Thunder*. Some peeces had the *Palsgraves* Armes upon them; which caused the King of *Bohemia* both to sigh and smile, at the sight of them. But the *Kunst-Cammer*, or *Chamber of Rarities*, was the thing that affoorded most entertainment: where the beholders admired rather, then lookt upon, the incomparable varieties and

and curiosities, both of *Art* and *Nature*. The *Iesuites* Church, was a piece of admiration also : and the Images among the rest, made by *Brouse* that famous Artist ; together with the manufactures, and silver works of divers kinds. The King went into this Church, iust when the *Iesuites* were at their *Masse* : and the Father *Rector* comming towards the King, his Majesty entertained a discourse in *Latine* with him, about the *Lords Supper*. The King after this, calling the Cittizens together; askes them whether they would hereafter fight against him, or pay the Contribution from time to time, that should be imposed upon them ? They much complaining of their Dukes avarice and former hardnesse towards them, and especially for his now forsaking of them ; faintly promise, what they durst not deny : wholly to submit themselves to his Majesties good pleasure, and to take oath unto him.

On Wednesday, May 9th. the King held a generall Muster before the City : himselfe (to shew some content to the *Bavarians*) drilling and exercising his souldiors : teaching them especially how to give a Charge or *Salvee* ; some upon their knees, others behind them stooping forward ; and the hindmost ranke standing upright, and all to give fire at once, the hinder man over his foremans shoulder. The next day, May 10th, was *Ascension* day : on which the King caused the first *Protestant* Sermon to be preached, in the Castle : the King himselfe (as tis written) giving order for this *Psalme* of Doctor *Luthers*.

Rejoyce yee now O Christians true,
Your hearts now leape for joy :
Now sing without annoy,
What wonders God hath done for you, &c.

After dinner ; the King went to Saint *Maryes* Church to see the Popish ceremonies, in celebrating the Feast of the Ascension. That evening whilst the King was at supper, were some twenty *Bavarian* horsemen brought in prisoners to him. These, with a thousand others, had beene sent out of

Ratisbone to fall on the sudden upon the Swedish garrison of *Freising*. Here having timely been discovered, they were provided for; and had such *Wellcome* and *Entertainment* as usually the *Warres* afford, which is, to beate their *Visitants* out a doores againe. They could tell no certainty as yet, of any likelyhood of their Dukes joyning with *Wallenstein*. And herein they said trueth: for *Wallenstein* (it seemes) purposing to play his owne game, was now going towards *Prage*; which he tooke shortly after. The King pleasantly said to these Horsemen. You now suffer what you would have made others to suffer: thus you see, none is forbidden to strike againe, that is first strucken.

By this time hath the King word brought unto him, of Commissary *Offa* (lately made one of the Emperours Generalls) his comming out of *Alsacia*, with 7000 men after him. Part of these, were some of *Offaes* and the Arch-duke *Leopolds* (the Emperours brothers) old Army; part were brought by *Harincourt* from the Duke of *Lorrain*; and part were come out of *Italy* by the *Val-Teline* passage. The Boores of *Bavaria*, *Schwaben*, & *Tirole*, were also up in Commotion, and *Offa* was now become Head unto them. *Offaes* chiefe charge, was, the defence of *Leopolds* Country of *Alsacia*; of the *Austrian* Lands in *Tirole* (of all which Archduke *Leopold* is *Administrator*) and of the *Circle of Schwaben*. This *Offa* about this time, marches up to *Bibrach*; a weake Imperiall City in *Schwabland* towards *Donawert*, about five English miles South of the *Danuby*, and eight from *Memmingen*. Hither had he secretly beene invited by the Burgo-master and the *Popish Clergy*; and upon this Towne, two assaults he made: but so well did the Cittizens put him off, that he both times lost his labour, and 400 men into the Bargaine. That which addedd shame unto his losse, was; that no small part of the slaughter was made by women: these *Viragoes* with scalding water, stones and such feminine weapons, beating his men from the walls of their City, and encouraging their husbands. The King having notice of these proceedings

he King
does to deliver
Bibrach from
ff.

proceedings of *Offaes*; gives order with all speed for the marching away of 5000 Horse, and about 4000 Foote: himself likewise immediately following to goe along with them. Leaving *Munchen* therefore, and Colonell *Hebron* Governor in it: he taking his way by *Ausburg* (where he was about May 20) marches directly towards *Memmingen*. Here he first of all layes a bridge over the River *Iller*: which running from hence towards *Ulm*, falls thereabouts into the *Danuby*. *Offa* hearing of the finishing of this bridge, retires with so much speed to the Quarters hee came last from, (which were towards *Lindau* and the *Bodensee* neere the Mountaines) that he left his Ordnance behind him. *Offaes* Correspondents were carryed prisoners into *Ulm*.

The King having thus delivered *Bibrach*; leaves the Army thereabouts, under the command of Duke *Bernard of Saxon-Weymar*, himselfe with some few guards returning towards *Ausburg*; where he was about May 27. Here receiving the newes, that *Wallenstein* had advanced towards *Prage* and taken it, and forced the *Saxons* out of *Bohemia*: and that *Cratz* withall, was gone from about *Ratisbone* and *Ingolstar*, and faine with his forces into *Bavaria* first, and into the frontiers of *Franconia* and *Schwaben* after: and had there taken *Weissenburg*: (which is the Passe betwixt *Ausburg* and *Norimberg*:) He out of his care to this last named City, which so much concernd both his honour and his designes; resolves to leave *Bavaria*, and to goe with his Army into those quarters. Speeding backe therefore againe unto *Munchen*; he gives order to those troopes which had till now beene left thereabouts; to march with all speed towards *Donawert*: where the rest from about *Memmingen*, should meete and joyne with them.

Cratz, indeed, with 2000 Foote, and the valiant Baron of *Cronenberg* with his Regiment of Horse (which was the flower of the Army:) upon the hearing of the Kings going towards *Bibrach*, were faine againe into *Bavaria*. Their designe, was to recover *Munchen*; and from *Ratisbone*, they

The King
drawes his for-
ces out of Ba-
varia.

were already advanced as farre as *Pfaffenhoven*: where getting advice of some *Swedish* troopes that were comming to encounter them, they faire and timely retired into *Ingolstat*. The Kings hearing of their making towards *Munchen*; was the cause that he made thither, so soone as *Offa* was skared from *Bibrach*: when *Cratz* and *Cronenberg* hearing of the Kings coming towards that way, they goe the cleane contrary, unto *Weissenburg*. This Imperiall City we have before described, in the Kings march up to *Donawert*: but in what *Province* or *Circle* of the Empire it is placed, the *Geographers* and *Mapp-makers* themselues doibt of. Some 24 *English* miles it is to the North-West of *Ingolstat*; and in it, had the King left some forces: and by it, was the strong Castle of *Wilsburg*, with a *Tillian* garrison. *Cratz* now layes siege to *Weissenburg*; and the *Swedes* stand upon the resistance: but more Gunns being brought out of *Wilsburg* Castle, and bent against them; they parly and yeeld. What quarrell was pickt, I know not: but sure it is, that the *Swedes* refusing to turne to the *Bavarian* party, had all their throates cut. The Towne is also plundered, the chiefe Citizens and Preachers carried away prisoners, two Gates of the City burnt downe to the ground: and then newes being brought of the Kings comming; the *Bavarians* forsake all againe, and hye them backe into *Ingolstat*.

In this *Interim*, had Duke *Bernard* of *Saxon-Weymar* so well behaved himself; that in the pursuite of *Offa*, he had light upon one of his bravest Regiments, (which he had put into a fortified place) consisting of 2000 men, and conducted by *Hamibal Count of Hohen-Ems*: all which he had utterly routed and defeated; taken the Count, with 400 prisoners, and 8 Ensignes. The Count was sent prisoner to *Isne* first, and to *Ulm* afterwards. This feate had Duke *Bernard* done, time enough to meeke the King at *Donawert*.

His Maiesty now about to leave *Bavaria*; takes the best order that he might, for the quiet of the Country behind him. Garrisons he left none (except in *Rain* onely,) because there is

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never a towne defensible in all the whole Duchy. To supply which defect, was the Generall *Banier* left with some 8 Regiments about *Ausburg*: and divers Waine-loades of *Priests*, *Jesuites* and other chiefe persons brought into safe custody within *Ausburg*, to be pledges and hostages for the fidelity of the *Bavarians*. Against the Boores, the *Leopoldish* and *Offa's* forces in *Schwabland*, *Tirole*, &c. was Duke *William of Saxon-Weymar* left with 12000 men, about *Memmingen*. At *Vlm*, was Sir *Patrick Ruthven* Governour; who had a small Army also. And Duke *Iulius, Administrator* of the Duchy of *Wirtemberg*, having about the 20th of this moneth beene at *Ausburg* with the King; had promised him to levy 8000 men to second his forces, and to observe the motions of Archduke *Leopold* and the Generall *Offa*. To prevent (last of all) the coming of more forces out of *Italy* to the aid of *Offa*; the King, much about this time, writes his letters unto the *Switzers*: who upon the receipt of them, going from their *Diet* of *Lucerne*, unto another at *Baden*; resolute there to give no more passage to the *Spaniſh* thorow their country into *Germany*. This was the Kings letter.

S: s:

Being enformed how that the King of *Spaine* doth labour by all possible meanes, to perswade you to grant him a free passage out of *Italy*, into these parts of *Germany* against Vs; for the advancement of his pernicious and uniuſt designes, and for the favour and furtherance of our enemies and their proceedings: I have thought good to exhort and admonish you most lovingly by these presents, to remember with your selues, That your Common-wealth hath ever hitherto most gloriously flourished, and renownedly maintained its liberty, against all opposers whatsoever; and especially against those of the Houses of *Burgundy* and of *Austria*: which 2 Houses, have striven oftentimes to deprive and barre you of your liberties. Yea of that liberty, namely, which is the best of all the rest, the freedome of your *Conſciences*: this would they have taken away from ſome of you, and the liberty of Go-

The Kings letter to the Switzers.

vernent from you all. I would desire you likewise to be mindfull of that good Correspondency, which I have alwaies hitherto maintained with your State: for which reason I cannot but forewarne you, that you become carefull hence-forward, to remaine firme and constant within the termes and bounds of *Neutralitie*, and of that good agreement and correspondency, which yet is betwixt us; no waies yeelding or affoording, either passage, favour or assistance, unto the enemy. Otherwise if you doe, I shall then be constrained to begin before them, and to commence warre against you, which shculd it so fall out: tis your sculues then, that by your owne faults have drawne it upon your owne heads; together with such ruines consequently, desolations and calamities, as usually doe accompany it. But I have conceived much better hopes of you: as for mine own part, I doe hereby assure you all in generall, and each one in particular, of my best love and affection towards you.

Signed,

Gustavus Adolphus.

Strasburg accords with the King.

This letter became a bush against the *Spaniſh*, which helped the *Switzers* to stop the gappe against them, thorow the *Alps* out of *Italy*. A Secretary is also about this time sent from the King, unto the faire and Imperiall City of *Strasburg* upon the *Rhine* in *Alsatia*: neere the wals, and thorow the Iurisdiction whereof, Colonel *Harincourt* had lately brought his *Lorrayners* unto *Oſſa*. And this City now, after some deliberation, is drawne also to the Kings party: and that much upon the ſame termes, which the great Cities of *Vlm* and *Norimberg*, had heretofore accorded with him. This was ſomething towards the ſecurity of the lower *Palatinate* also; on the hithermost ſide whereof, this *Strasburg* lyeth.

And thus hath this victorious King of *Sweden*, either conquered or drawne to his party, all the middle part of *Germany*:

ny: himselfe in Person having runne thorow it, from the Northerne or *Baltick* Sea, even to the very *Alps* almost and mountaines on the South, next unto *Italy*: a Course of full 500 *English* miles together. And now turnes he backe againe. The breadth he beares in these last mentioned parts, is halfe of the Kings *Circles of Bavaria and Schwabland*; even from the river *Iser* in *Bavaria* Eastward, all overthwart to the *Danuby* and beyond it, towards the West. In *Bavaria*, could he march 50 or 60 miles square every way. Along the *Lech* from *Danawert* to *Fuesen*, North and South; full 80: and along the *Danuby* from the gates of *Ingolstaf* (to account no further) on the North-East, unto *Vlm* and beyond it, on the South-West; as much more. In *Bavaria* all was his own: not all that is in the *Mappe of Bavaria* (for that containes a tenth part of the Empire) but all the lands of the Dukes of *Bavaria*, were either conquered, or under Contribution: no power or place being left, (except *Ratisbone*, where the Duke with his Army now was) being able to resist any 2 *Brigades* of the Kings, should he but have sent them thither. Nor was there here any considerable appearance of resistance, at the Kings comming out of the Country.

As for that portion of the *Circle of Schwaben* betwixt the *Lech*, the *Danuby*, and the line or *Degree* of 48 in the *Mappe*, (which 3 make a complete *Triangle*) it is wholly the Kings; and quietly now too: especially since *Ossae* late repulse from *Bibrach*: which touches upon the outside of the *Degree* 48 aforesaid. How now all this part came to be the Kings, and in what estate he left it now behind him; we shall briefly tell you. A Conqueror must *keep*, as well as *winne*: and either leave no enemy at his backe, or a force sufficient to oppose him, that he may not be able to disturb the Master of the Field, in his future proceedings. And then may a Country be indeed said to be conquered.

This Portion of the *Circle of Schwaben* came thus to be the Kings. Divers of the Imperiall Townes in it being *Protestant*, (as *Ulm*, *Memmingen*, *Kempten*, &c.) having once assented unto

The Story of
the Actions
about *Ulm* and
Schwabland.

unto the *Conclusions of Leipsich*; notwithstanding they had beeene enforced in part to renounce them, by *Eggon* Count of *Furstenberg*, Generall for his Imperiall Maiesty for this *Circle*: yet after the King of *Sweden* prevailing about these parts, they eftsoones recovered their former resolutions. Of all these Cities, *Ulm* upon the *Danuby* being the principall, the *Admirall Gally* as it were; she carried the Lanterne unto all the rest; which way she led, they followed. About the end of October 1631. 12 Imperiall troopes comming that way out of *Italy*, desired (imperiously enough) to have a relieve from this City, of 10 Dollars for every Horseman, and 6 for a Footeman: and when threatnings were added, the *Ulmers* beat them out of their Territories into *Leopolds* Country, and made the Archduke keepe them. The King a little after this, sollicites them unto his party: and Colonell *Rhelenger* is presently sent upon it, (as *Commissary* for the King,) to agree with them. He in his iourney thither, lighting upon a Wagon-full of Monks and Fryers; made them pay a ransome of 40000 Dollars. In January after, the Common-wealth of *Ulm* publikely declare, what they had privately before resolved, to stand to the *Conclusions of Leipsich*, and levie 450 new men upon it. The same does *Memmingen* also. Now doe the *Protestants* every where about this time, begin to resume more courage: and for the defence of their Liberties and Religion, divers of their Cities (as *Norimberg*, *Strasburg*, with some of *Wirtenberg*) assemble in a *Diet* at *Hailbrun*, which *Gustavus Horn* had lately taken. In February after, *Ulm* accepts of a *Swedish* garrison; and beginnes to fortifie; towards the rivers side especially. About the beginning of March, that Gallant old Cavalier Sir *Patrick Ruthven*, a *Scottish* Gentleman, (lately made Sergeant-Major-General of the Army) is sent from *Mentz* to be their Governour.

Ulm accordeth
with the King.

Sir *Patrick*
Ruthven made
Governor of
Ulm.

Sir *Patrick Ruthven* presently begins to make some new levies for an Army: by little and little, getting some 6 or 7000 men together. Hee first demands the resolutions of all the chiefe Cities and Townes about him: whether they would

be Friends, Foes, or Neuters: stand either for the King, or against him. One of the first townes he began withall, was *Kurchberg* upon the river *Iler*; some 4 English miles to the South of *Vlm*. This towne having the honour of an Earldome, the King (as I find writing for it) bestowed upon the Conquerour. But of this I can say no more. At what time the King lay betwixt *Donawert* and the *Lech*, (which is about 48 or 50 English miles from *Vlm*:) Sir *Patrick* advances up His actions the same river *Iler* beyond *Memmingen*, unto *Kempten*, (neere the river *Lech*) where there is an *Abby*: the first in order of all these of the *Circle of Schwaben*. *Guntzperg*, a faire towne upon the River *Guntz*, betwixt *Vlm* and *Lawingen*, is presently likewise taken. From this towne, a little after this, are 8 troopes of Dragooners sent from the Kings army over the bridge at *Lawingen*; to ruffle the Cloysters in the neighbour Marquisate of *Burgaw*; to bring them under contribution; and to lye in waite for 500 Horse of *Offaes*, that were to come from *Lindaw*. At this *Guntzperg* is there a faire Palace, of right belonging unto the Marquesles of *Burgaw*: though at this time the Archduke *Leopold* had invaded it. The lands of the Lords *Fuggers*, are now also brought under contribution. *Erpach* is likewise over-runne, belonging unto the Chancellor *Von Vlm*. The 500 *Tillians* who had beene left at *Nordlingen*, about 30 miles to the North-East of *Vlm*, presently forfake the Towne: upon the newes, namely, of the Kings passing of the *Lech*. In the beginning of April, Sir *Patrick Ruthven* puts some of his scouldiers into *Memmingen*: out of which, he a little after that expels the *Iesuites*: whom he found complotting with the Imperialists. About *Lentkirken*, others of his deafeate some of *Offaes* guards. *Ravensperg* and *Bibrach*, 2 other Imperiall Cities, declare for the King: and divers Lords and Gentlemen, daily send their Deputies unto our Governour of *Vlm*, to compound for their contributions. This if they did not, their lands were plundered. He a little after this, disarmes the Citizens of *Elching* and *Weissenhorn*, (both neere *Vlm*:) and takes 14 peeces of Cannon and 2 Murtherers,

Murtherers, away from them. Presently after which, he sends, and defeats *Schwendy* (or *Schmeaden*) and his Boores, (which, he being a Gentleman of the Country, had stirr'd up) and takes himself prisoner. Having thus advanced so farre to the Southward, the Bishop of *Constance* is glad to send to him to make his agreement. And thus is all the Country, for the while, cleared; even to the gates of *Lindau* and the *Bodensee*, under the very *Alps*: which so continues, untill *Offa* (now gone thence to the *Switzers Diet* of *Lucerne*, to procure passage for the *Spanish* out of *Italy*, over the *Gotthart Alps*) returnes about the beginning of May with his 7000 men, and besieges *Bibrach*, as we before told you.

Whether Colonell *Sperreuter*, who tooke *Dunkelsbach* and *Elwang*, on the Northside of the *Danuby*, were sent by him, or immediately from the King; I know not. After *Slammersdorff* had taken *Landspurg*: the towne of *Mindelheim*, upon the river *Mindel*, betwixt the *Lech* and the *Danuby*, almost right against *Landspurg*, made also her composition. And thus (to be briefe) did all those good Townes, which you shall find in the Map of *Wirtemberg*, in the South-East corner: most of which Country is called *Overland*.

Vpon the last Munday in April, Sir *Patrick Ruthven* defeats some Imperiall troopes, and takes 4 Ensignes from them. The Boores also rising the second time, againe incensed by the *Bavarian* Boores comming amongst them, *Schwendies* second provocation, (let loose upon his ransome) and the heartning on of *Offa* and *Harincourt*; are againe defeated. A many of these Boores, first rise about *Gensburg* and the mountaines: who sending word to the rest, appoint their meeting place about *Weingarten*, some 30 miles to the South of *Ulm*.

These in the beginning of May, comming up; surprise *Wangen* an Imperiall towne, *Ravensberg* and others, betwixt *Ulm* and *Lindau*. Against them, Sir *Patrick* sends 3000 men, many of them Dragooneers: who May 12 killing some of them neere unto *Kempten*, (25 *English* miles East of *Wangen*) make the rest sweare to goe home and follow their clodding againe, and

See the Mapps
of the circle of
Suevia, or of
Wirtemberg, for
these townes.

and pay their contributions quietly. Others of them being busie otherwhere, 400 more are slaine about this Bishopricke of *Kempten*: which their neighbours perciuing, goe and deliver up their Armes at *Kempten*. At *Zippersriden*, are almost 800 more cut in pieces, and (which was the way to coole them) are divers of their Dorps fired: which the poore wretches seeing, went and cut their Land-lords throates, that had first stirr'd them up, and then forsaken them. Colonell *Rhelinger* (who had done many other good services in these parts) affrights and disarmes 300 more of them, with a small Partee of Horsmen. *Rhelinger* proceedes so farre, that *Offa* being afraid of his falling into *Tirole*, is faine to send 2000 men thither, to ensure the passages. About the end of April, Sir *Patrick Ruthven* goes into the Duchy of *Wirtemberg*; where he receives an aide of 2000 new men, from Duke *Julius* the *Administrator*. In his absence, the Lord *Druches* of *Waldburg* with other Gentlemen and some Abbots; began to stirre againe, in the further parts towards *Weingarten*: who did much trouble unto the *Swedish* souldiers in the townes next to them. To reppresse them, went the *Swedish* Dragooners that lay in and about *Bibrach*: who fell in among the lands of the said Lord *Druches* plundered the Townes of *Wurtbach* and *Waldsee*, neere unto *Weingarten*, and dispersed the Commotion. The good Towne of *Ehingen* also, on the contrary side of the *Danuby*, to *Vlm*, and within 6 *English* miles of it, is brought likewise to a Composition: as all this part of *Schwab-* That part of *land* by this time was. At this towne of *Ehingen*, whilst *Lodowick Eberhard* Count of *Hohenlo*, with one of the Kings Secretaries and some other Commissioners were, (having beeene thither employed about taking the Citizens oath for the King of *Sweden*) they were all surprised and carried prisoners into *Tirole*, by a Partee sent out from *Offa*, at the time of his being about *Bibrach*. To be a ransome for whose liberties, the King causes some great men of the Country to be laid hands of. The Imperialists that did this at *Ehingen*, and staid there; fell out and troubled the Countrey now and

then: *Schwabland*,
brought by Sir
Patrick Ruth-
ven, &c. under
Contribution.

then: and upon the first of Iune following, when the King was gone towards *Norimberg*; they drove away divers head of Cattel even from within 2 English miles of *Vlm*: there being at that time no Horsemen in the towne to make out after them. But these are since sent packing. Thus is all that country the Kings, by conquest: and for the keeping of it quiet, were the Armies of Duke *William of Saxon-Weymar*, and Sir *Patricke Ruthven*, left thereabouts: the Duke of *Wirtemberg*s forces being at hand too; who is their very next neighbour upon the other side of the *Danuby*. And in this estate the King of *Sweden* left this Country, in the beginning of Iune; when he tooke his leave of it, and of *Bavaria*: whom when we have waited upon from *Donawert* to *Norimberg*; we will for this time conclude our Story of him.

The occasion of his Maiesties so sudden parting out of *Bavaria*, we told you, was to relieve *Weissenburg*. Generall *Cratz* had now taken it; upon a hope by that meanes to cut off the Kings retreat to *Norimberg*. The King in his way thither, cleeres (as his manner is) the whole Country before him. For whereas (to begin withall) the towne and Bishopricke of *Aichstat*, 16 miles to the North of *Donawert*, had not all this while brought in their contribution, which Colonell *Sperren-ter* had heretofore made them to submit unto; the Kings souldiers now distraine upon whatsoever they can get for it. So is the Bishopricke of *Dillingen* likewise served: both are plundered, and disarmed, & the best Ordnance sent to *Auspurg*. and the Castle *Pappenheim* Castle likewise, 2 leagues to the West of *Aichstat*, (which belongeth unto the old Count of *Pappenheim*, who by inheritance is *Earle Marshall or second Marshall of the Empire*) was besieged, battered, and taken. This is hard by *Weissenburg*; to which the King so much hasted: and from which *Cratz* had as much speeded, when he knew the King to be so neere him.

His Maiesty having nothing more in his way to delay him, marches immediatly towards *Norimberg*: neere which, namely, in his old Quarter at *Furt*, about Iune 7 he arriveth. What his intention

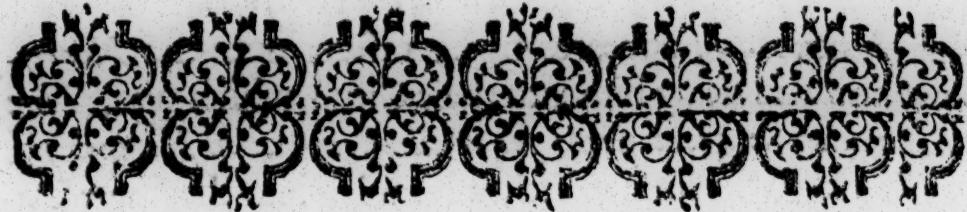
The King in
his march from
Donawert,

takes the Bi-
shopricks of
Aichstat and
Dillingen,

and the Castle *Pappenheim* Castle likewise, 2 leagues to the West of *Aichstat*, (which belongeth unto the old Count of *Pappenheim*, who by inheritance is *Earle Marshall or second Marshall of the Empire*) was besieged, battered, and taken. This is hard by *Weissenburg*; to which the King so much hasted: and from which *Cratz* had as much speeded, when he knew the King to be so neere him.

intention next was, appeares by his answer unto the *Norim-
bergers*, now inviting him into their City : which was, *That
he had rather a great deale see Wallenstein, then Norimberg.*
Against whom he immediately advancing into the *Upper Pa-
latinate*, was not able to goe further, thorow a destroyed
country: and hearing withall, both *Wallenstein* and *Bavaria* to
be comming against him; he retires backe againe, and entren-
ches himselfe by *Norimberg*. Since which time, though the
Armies have layne long neere one another; yet for that at the
finishing hereof, there had nothing beene done betwixt them;
I must leave that to a *Third Part*: and if you please, to a bet-
ter instructed *Intelligencer*.

finally encamp-
ing by Norim-
berg.



Heere followeth the *Declaration* or
Manifesto of his Highnesse the Duke
 of *Bavaria*; which we before mentioned and
 promised you. Received from a good Friend:
 and already translated by an able Gentle-
 man.



OR as much as among the multitude of
 false rumours, that are promiscuously
 divulged, aswell within, as without the
 bounds and territories of the Empire;
 concerning those affaires that are now
 presented upon the stage of action, in this
 scene of Warre: those that ring low-
 dest, (though with least semblance of truth
 or credibility) are such as deeply trench upon the candor
 and sincerity of my intention. The which seeme not so
 much to have beene first broached, by the inventers of fayned
 novelties; and such light spirits, as are enamoured with false
 curiosities: as to have beene set on foote, by the capitall
 enemies of my renowne and reputation. Such as have fixed
 the eye of their intention, upon a higher (though more igno-
 ble and malicious designe) then to amuse the world, with
 the relation of unprofitable fables. In regard whereof I was
 forced to beleeve, That I could not neglect these injurious
 calumnies, without doing deepe wrong unto mine honour:
 and that I stand obliged, to avow and give a manifest *decla-
 ration* to all the world, of the certitude and sincerity of my
 most private intentions. Which therefore I now resolve to
 doe.

doe, by this publike Act and open Protestation : even as from the beginning of this warre I have endevoured to have done, by the cleare testimony of my publike and undoubted actions ; a great deale more effectually, then I possibly can doe by waight of words, or by any tenor of verball protestations.

Now then, having first invoked and called downe upon mee, the direfull wrath and just vengeance, both of God and man ; if in this serious businesse, I either faine or dissemble : I doe protest, that the most powerfull and soveraigne motives, that have beene the cheife conductors of all my actions (aswell in the times of peace, as in this of warre) have beene from their first origin and beginning, and at this present are, and by Gods gracious assistance hereafter ever shalbe ; no other, then the zeale and fidelity, which I owe and have solemnely sworne to his sacred Imperiall Majesty, and the reestablishing of the Catholike, Apostolike, Roman Faith in the territories of this Empire ; from many faire parts whereof, it hath beene treacherously exiled ; with no lesse impious Sacriledge, then cruell tyranny. So that in this, my designes have not aimed at any other end, then the glory of God, and the discharge of my owne conscience.

I put on armes, at the first commotion of the treacherous revolt in *Bohemia* ; and have not yet laid them downe, in the preservation and defence of so noble and just a cause. And how I have comported my selfe in them, I need not remember : for all Christendome will beare record with me, that with just cause, this age hath given already, and all succeeding ages shall give hereafter ; immortall thankes to the God of armies, for the glorious atchievements with which he hath blessed us. A part of which memorable exploits, his divine goodness hath beene pleased to execute by my weake hands ; and his sacred Imperiall Majesty hath received such satisfaction in my indeavours, that he hath beene pleased to affoord me a large occasion to receive much greater from him, in the heape of massy honours ; wherewith he hath vouchsafed to recom-
pence

pense the weake services I have done to the state of this Empire, and that of Gods Church; the advancement of both which, are linked and chayned together, in the inviolable bond of one common interest.

Wherefore I verily beleevc, that no reasonable man (that doth not suffer himselfe to be wilfully coozened with malicious conjecture, and groundlesse divination) can frame his judgement to conceive, that I would now change my first resolutions, and alter my designes: at such a time especially, as when I have so important a Subject, and binding obligations, to renew and reenforce them more then I could foresee, or imagine at their first undertaking. For if that be true, which now passeth for currant in a great part of the World: that the prime and chiefest ayme in this new combination and conspiracy, is to reinvest my Cosin Count *Frederick* in the dignity of his Electorship, and estate of his territories; from which he hath beene most justly throwne and dejected, for hauing falsified his oath and loyalty to his Imperiall Majeſty, by the religious bond of a sacred oath not long before confirmed to him; and rebelliously fought to dispossesse him of his Crowne and dominion: I say, if this be the true cause of these bloudy commotions (as they would make the world beleeve it is) then I am the man, against whom they should have discharged the gall of their intemperate fury. And therefore to imagine, that I would joyne in league and confederacy against them, that have no cause to take armes, but in defence of my right: is to presume against the nature of things, and to frame a *dictamen*, contrary to the principles even of common ſenſe it ſelfe.

And if there be nothing but this to rectifie, what concerneth it my Lord the Emperour, and the whole noble family of Austria; that I ſhould rather enjoy the dignity of an Elector, then my foresaid Cosin; or that I ſhould poſſeſſe a part of that estate, of which he hath beene ſo justly deprived? Or to what end ſhould they endeavour to prejudice the pretended reſtitution of them both, if I were pleased to yeeld

my

my consent thereunto? Verily it would seeme a pleasant and sportfull warre, that should be undertaken to force me to be more rich and powerfull, then I my selfe desired.

But men may say (peradventure) that the King of *Spaine* also possesseth a good part of the *Palatinate*; which I grant he doth: but this is so farre from ingaging me to relinquish any part of my just claime, that it is rather a powerfull reason more firmly to oblige me, to uphold and maintaine mine owne claime and just tytle; seeing him borne downe with the concurrence of so puissant* a Monarch. Wherefore, if wee rest in the principles of reason and humane prudence, it can neither have likelyhood, appearance, nor colour of truth; that I should now be changed and become another man, then heretofore I have beene.

* The French King.

And if any man have fancied so prodigious a change and alteration in me, for that they have knowne me lesse pleased with some designes & proceedings of the *Austrian* Family, in some cases, wherin the cause of *Religion* was no way *interested*; he might from thence have groundedly collected, that in case the Cause debated, were onely concerning the raising of their particular greatness, and extent of their fortunes; there yet survived in my brest, sufficient sparkes of freedome and generous worth, to have opposed their wills, and contradicted their intendments (I not judging them justifiable, rather then have made this strained and ridiculous inference upon it, that I framed a resolution to band it with the route of their enemyes: they especially, being such, as with all the streme of their strongest endeavours, make profession to pursue and persecute the faith I professe. I know very well, in what esteeme and honour I am obliged to hold the race of that * renowned Family, and I thinke also, that the higher exaltation thereof, may in time become prejudicall to the repose * and generall freedome of the Empire. But that which toucheth my heart with highest straines of just feare, and that whereof great and good Princes (in my opinion) ought to be most sensible, and (if I might be beleaved) is, that that illustrious Family (as ancient

* The House of *Austria*.

* Well confess

and noble as it is) should by the world be conceived to have a straighter obligation, and greater interest in the defence of Religion, then concerneth other Princes that are truely Catholike. Verily, this is all the jealousie I have of this glorious and Majestique Family. This is the onely point of honour, which I could find in my heart to debate and maintaine against it. And if this Family shall alledge the plenteous showers of prosperity and temporall blessings ; where-with God hath heretofore , and doth yet most especially oblige them to the peculiar defence and patronage of his glorious cause : his Divine goodnesse forbid, that I should oppose my selfe to the honour and happinesse of so just and holy a fortune : although there-hence should ensue the diminution, yea even the fatall ruine of me and all mine.

A thought it is, unworthy to be lodged in the brest of a Christian Prince ; to conceive, That the glory of Gods Church (which is inviolably linked with that of his eternall Majesty) should not likewise by him be esteemed the *verticall* and highest point of his honour ; and that if these two could possibly be separated (as by a long and approued experience I find they cannot) yet the case is such, that I hold it for a most uncontrolled *Oracle* of certaine truth, yea and an approved Article of Faith, that all humane respects and considerations ought to be even sacrificed, and nothing regarded by every generous mind , when the Cause of Religion and piety to God shalbe esteemed to require it. For certainly, no subject is so straitly obliged, to set aside and forgoe the peculiar affaires of his owne private estate, for advancement of the publike and common good of his King and Kingdome (when cause shall so require it) as all Soveraigne Princes are tyed in the supreme bonds of highest duty , to renounce whatsoever may in this World be deare unto them ; when the glory of Him, of whom they hold their Crownes and Soveraignties, shall come in competition, and bee ballanced with it.

I say not this, to brand them with notes of impiety, that under

Religiously
said.

under pretence of humane policy and Principles of State, have He handles t^h entered into a league and strait combination with heretikes, French tender against the sound and *Orthodoxe party*: Let this be accounted for an error in judgement, or some deepe misfortune, rather then an hainous crime. I will frankly leave the whole world at liberty, to direct and accommodate it selfe, to such rules of Conscience, as themselues shall like of, and value to be upright and iust. Nor will I passe any rash censure upon their proceedings, but will force my selfe to beleeve, that *God* hath revea- Neatly put of led some secret principles to them, which have hitherto beene unthought of in all ordinary Theologie. For my owne part, I will not hinder their being esteemed true Catholikes; seeing they themselues desire to appeare and be esteemed for such: onely this I will alleadge, (that the whole world may beare witnesse, that my inclinations and motions doe not sunne levell in the same line with theirs) that in the light of my simple judgement, it is all one to become an *Apo-stata* from the *Religion* of our holy Ancestors, and to foment and nourish their rage, that endeavour to destroy it. I have had no ancient Alliance with any person: who under the faire pretence of well-wishing, might seeme to have allured me to favour this combination: and if I had, I should esteeme it no lesse lawfull to breake all bands of ancient amity with them in this case, then I doe hold it most unlawfull to contract any new ones.

I am well acquainted with the forme and tenour of ancient *Oathes of Fidelity*; which were customarily exhibited to Supreme and Soveraigne Princes, upon the solemne dayes of Inauguration and Installment: and I well remember that also, which I my selfe have taken upon like occasions. Nor doe I know any one point, which would not be directly infringed and violated, by the contrary practice in this confederacy; whereunto some would seeme to induce me, and impute unto me whether I will or no.

To say that the warre now waged, no way concerneth

* *The cause of Religion*, but is merely for the interest of tem-

* Belike the
Catholikes

emselves
ave this opi-
on of the
arie: and have
ught it the
rotestants.

porall state and honour, were wilfully to hoodwincke our
selues, and to become voluntarily blind, in the affaires that
concerne the estate of this Empire, and the universall good
of Christendome. For, to take no notice of the insolent ru-
mors, with which the *Protestant* partisans have filled the
world, since the Battell of *Leipsich*: to have no regard to the
common Ballads and songs of ioy, which triumphant Her-
sie hath precipitiously caused to be chanted in each corner of
their publike streets and private families. To omit their glori-
ous boasts and vaine brags, That the *Papists* are reduced to such
tearmes, as they are become iust equall with *Protestants*, in
their undutifull attempts and treacherous complots: who
knoweth not, that the most faire and plausible pretences of
the King of *Sweden*, the Duke of *Saxonie*, the Marquesse
of *Brandenburg*, the *Landtgrave of Hessen*, and other their
confederates; have beene to hinder the restitution of *Ecclesi-
asticall livings*, decreed in a solemne *Diet* to be restored to the
Church? And if this be no point of Religion, I know not
what is. If I beleeve (as indeed I doe with all the powers of
my whole heart) that the *Catholike Church* is the deare *Spouse*
of *Christ Iesus*; can I put any maine obstacle, yea or so much
as interpose the least diversion, to the execution of so just a
Decree, without incurring the note and censure of horrible
prevarication, yea even of detestable *Sacrilege*: unjustly
thereby ravishing from *Her*, the lawfull endowments and
revenues, of her ancient patrimony, and inheritance of her
Children? Can I suffer, or rather can I have the heart to
procure, (retaining still the name and quality of a *Catholike*)
that the goods devoted and consecrated by our pious Ance-
stors, for the maintenance of Gods Altar, & for the ornament
and due reverence of his *divine worship*; should wickedly be
distracted for the levying and paiment of *Lutheran* forces:
who wheresoever they prevaile, demolish and ruine the
Altars themselues, banish the *holy Sacrifice*, trample the *bles-
sed Sacrament* under their prophane feete, massacre their
Priests, and insolently triumph in the shame and spoyle of
this

this most sacred and spotlesse Dove ? What ? can this in any *Catholike Languunge* be stiled, the preservation of the liberties of the Empire, which is indeed the maintenance of that bloudy tyranny, which frontlesse *Heretikes* desire to execute against the Church of *God*? And what were this, but by Communication both of Armes and Councils, to concurre to the setting up of *Heresie* : even in those places, which the goodnessse of *God*, and the wakefull vigilance of their Princes, had to this houre preserved as pure and unpolluted? And to speake more calmly and gently of the violent cruelties, that in the times of these warres, have beene daily practised, by the continuall outrage of mercilesse *Heretikes* ; were but to mocke *God*, and abuse the credulity and patience of men.

The *Landgrave of Hessen*, hath he not demolished the *Scutcheons of Armes* of the *Catholike Bishops and Princes*, in all those places which he hath brought under his subiection, and planted his owne in their roomes and places? practising that boldly, which the *holy Prophet David* so much reprooved in the person of his barbarous forerunners. They have, I say, advanced their *Armes* by their *Armies*, in all those places they but seeme to have subdued. Their *Ministeriall Preachers*, with what loud voice have they made shew to give thankes to *God*, for the happy successe of their bloody victories? What furious *Alarmes*, have not resounded in *Wurtsburg*, in diminution of the honour of *Gods Church*? since with more then *Turkish* and *barbarous* cruelty, it hath beene sackt and pillaged, contrary to the law of Nations and Articles of agreement. Have not their Pulpits at all houres proclaimed, That the King of *Sweden* was sent from Heaven, as a particular instrument: to advance their new pretended Religion; and for the finall abolition and utter overthrow, of *Idolatrous Papistrie*, as they impiously mistearme it? A thing, which such persons as would colourably excuse the intentions of great Princes; might perhaps attribute to the indiscreete and passionate zeale of the common people: unlesse

He meaneſt
Bishop of Cul-
lens Armes,
which the
Landgrave
tooke downe
Nienbus, by
Paderborn.

the direfull effects, (recorded and registered in lines of blood) did beare record, That all those disasters and publike calamities, were derived from no other sourse and Fountaine. Certainly, it is not the *House of Austria*, which alone doth suffer in this their desperate fury; it is the *Catholike Church*, which they endeavour to rend and teare in pieces, by the cruell attempts of their inveterate malice: It is God that suffereth; and howsoever they seeke to obscure it with *Pilates* principles; yet, in effect, it is *Christ* that is crucified. Wherefore, let the King of *Sweden*, and those of his faction; delude the world no longer with pretences, that they intend onely to abate the greatnessse of the *House of Austria*, and not to trample in the ruines of *Religion*. The battery and spoyle of Townes and Cities; the forage and desolation of intire Provinces; are not secrets that can be concealed. The barbarous Cruelties of the debauched Souldiers, with no mantle can be covered: and much lesse, the high-voyced out-cries of the swolne *Ministry*, will be put to silence.

Truely the ancient histories of the *Gothes* and *Vandals*, of the *Arrians* and *Saracens*; who have crowned so many glorious *Martyrs* with eternall *Trophees*, (whose ashes are yet reverenced, and whose memories yet flourish amongst us in everlasting *Blessings*) doe make no mention of greater Barbarisnes, then are daily practised at this day, by their faithlesse posterity. We doe not reade, that in those dayes, there were any *State-mysteries*, or *Reserved Cases*, * by which *Christian* Princes could be countenanced and secured, to joyn in Armes with them that were commonly stiled The very *Scourge of God*, and chiefc Captaines of *Antichrists* Conquests. Let all the world conspire and unite their endeavours, as much as humane policy can contrive they should doe; yet is it certaine, That the attempts of heresie shall never prosper; except in the strength of our sinnes: and the Counsels of their chiefest Favourites, shall neuer winne greater approbation from God, then that, which by the same interpretation, may bee given to the successefull prosperity of *Turkes*

True: for the
esuites have
rought them
in since.

He touches
the French
King; who hath
the Stile of most
Christian: and is
in league with
the Swede.

Turkes and Infidels. Miserable and unfortunate may they ever be, that ground their imaginary greatness, upon the foundation of such unstable and distracted abuses.

We have heard and read much, of the unfortunate disasters of precedent ages; but truely in this one thing, these of ours out-strip and goe beyond them; that in those, there *Jesuites* are wanted these subtil and elevated Spirits, that forge distin-^{gry, that other} *affaires of State and Religion*, have gone be-^{ond them in} *Christian Princes*, ^{their own trad} that could lend an inclining eare, to such nice distinctions. ^{of Statizing.} Or, if perhaps, any such was then found amongst them, his memory is buried in obscure oblivion, or his name made odious and hatefull to all posterity. God of his divine goodness, sooner strike me dead with a fearefull Thunder-bolt; and blot my name for ever out of the memory of men: then permit it to be registered in the lists of funestious examples, of the fine niceties and subtleties of these miserable dayes of ours. If in the field, mine eyes should be cast upon mine Ensignes; and behold them there bearing the reverend Image of the glorious Mother of God: and should reflect withall, that they were mixed with their Standards, that would despitefully spit ^{*} in her face: what repose and content is it ^{* No good Protestant wil do so.} possible my heart should find; seeing my selfe ingaged in such a strange kind of Alliance? With what confidence or assurance could I begge her succour, that is the most auspicious protectress of the holy Church, and of the Princes that serve her, against whom I am banded? With what forehead, or with what vowes, durst I implore her intercession, (without which notwithstanding I dare undertake nothing) when I see the victories I should atchieve, must needs proove pernicious and prejudicall to *Her* honour, and that of *Her* deare Sonne? Is it possible I should pray for taking of Townes, into which I know the Conqueror will be no sooner entred; then with extreme violence he will pull downe the Images of the glorious Saints, tread under their foule feete, the blessed blood of our deare *Lord Jesus*, ^{which}

which we beleeveto be piously reserved on our *Altars*? O you Catholike Princes! pull off the maske of your counterfeit profession; or once for all, affoord us some solid ground, to iustifie your intentions; that in outward face appeare so absurd and gracelesse.

You cannot have the same desires and wishes in the Church, which you conceive in your Cabinets: for there, you cannot, without blushing, beg at the hands of *God*, and of his blessed Mother, and of the other Saints whom you reverence and invoke; you cannot, I say, without blushing beg at their hands the patronage and protection of such a cause, as (like the other heresies of our times, that have beene planted by fury and persecution of the faithfull) cannot subsist; but by the ruine of the Church, and finall extirpation of the religious and true worship of *God*. Rid your selues, if you can, from the maze of these, not onely intricate, but iust scruples; and make us capable of those other secrets, and mysteries, and principles, the which I ingeniously confess, I have not strength of wit to conceive.

And on the other side; in the truth which I have beene bred in, and to which I have beene moulded: I can find no difference, betwixt those that anciently bare armes in the service of *Attila*: in that time when in *Rhemes* he * cruelly beheaded *St. Nicasius*: and those now, which by the hands of the *Swede*, doe massacre Gods Priests, expell his Bishops from their flock and residence, and sacrilegiously spoyle and destroy his sacred Temples. Certainly, what modesty soever these people may strive to counterfeit in their extortions; and with what disguise soever, they seeke to colour the face of their violence: being convinced by the evident testimony of their owne manifest tyranny, they cannot deny, but that they are of

* He giues the French nation, an example of their owne.

* They will de-ny it, surely. the ranke * of those Princes, of whom the Royall *Prophet* in these expresse termes long agoe foretold: That all their Princes concluded among themselues, and by expresse decree resol ved; They would possesse the Sanctuary of *God* upon earth, as goods appertaining to their owne inheritance, which is, in a word,

word, nothing else, but expressly to say: Let us maintaine our selues in the possessions of the patrimony of the Church: which long since we have confiscated, and appropriated to our selues; and which now is a part and member of our owne demeans. And those that favour this wicked designe, under what pretext soever; though they seem to shrowd themselues, under never so colourable reasons of faire appearances: yet can they not faile to see themselues cleerely pointed at in the fearefull predictions of the Prophet *Obadiah*: where their prevarication and loosenesse is branded with the note of eternall infamy, in the list of maledictions, which he bestoweth on them. *What then, saith our Lord? Shall I not one day destroy the politikes of Idumea?* ^{Obadiah, verse 8. to 11.} *Shall I not utterly subvert the wisedome of the mountaines of Esau?* The strong and bold spirits shall tremble with feare, that shall surprize them from the parts of the South; and this through the default of him, that will appeare so great a person upon the mountaine of Esau. By reason of the murthers and iniustice, which thou hast committed agaist thy brother Jacob, thou shalt be shaken and crushed with confusion, and shalt perish everlastingely, in revenge of that day, wherein thou liftest thy hand agaist him. Then when those who professed a strange law, inforced the armies to passe under their yoake, and the excommunicate did even force the gates of their Cities, and were partakers in the spoiles of Ierusalem. And thou ^{*} also wert united to that party, and wert no whit better, but more covert and concealed then they. O representation of our miserable times! not allegoricall, but most expresse and lively! O cruell and unnaturall jealousie of Christian Princes! O heresie, more faithfull to side it with their party, then the faithfull are constant to assist one another! I had rather say with the holy Prophet David, these words full of holy and religious zeale: *Early in the morning, (that is, in the beginning of my thoughts and actions,) I had no other care, then to imploy my forces to the destruction of sinners:* Which by excellence, and in a ranke aboue others, all *Heretikes* are. Wherfore, the course of things passing in this manner; and my affection and sense of them, being such

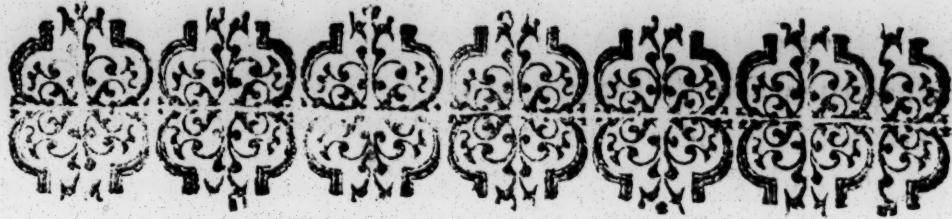
^{*} He touches the French.

The Duke of Bavaria's Manifesto.

as I have declared: it appeareth manifestly, that by no consideration either of *State* or *Religion*; I could esteeme it either expedient or lawfull, to adhere to this faction; which were but to consent to the spoyle and rapine of the *Protestant* party: but am rather obliged, to commiserate and condole at their successes; and to oppose their progress. And therefore I protest againe and againe, before *God* and *men*: That I have now my sword in my hand to doe it; and that in this quarrell, I will most cheerefully hazzard my estate, my goods, mine honour, and my life.

After which protestation, which heretofore hath beene, and hereafter shall be followed, with all suitable effects and actions, by which I am possibly able to approove and verifie the same: if yet there be any, that rest doubtfull of the integrity of my intentions, I shall have no other esteeme nor regard of him, then of one whom I account an obstinate calumniator, and my professed enemy.

The



The Elector of *Saxonyes* Proceedings.

Is Imperiall Majesty, after the *Leipsic*-losse of so goodly an Army, (which was one of the fairest Pillars of the *House of Austria*) seemes like a wise *Architect of Fortune*, to haue consulted especially upon the meanes; both how to *shore up the side*, by *repairing* of his own army; and to *abate* the *stresse*, by *weakning* of his adversaryes. It stood not either with an *Imperiall* or *Austrian* greatnesse, to *goe lesse* now, then when his army had beene *victorius*: nor so farre to satisfie so meane a Prince as the King of *Sweden*; as either at his *instance*, or for his *Armes*, to restore their owne unto the oppressed. That would have argued feare in him; had drawne an *implicite confession* from him, that he had hitherto beene injurious. It was more honourable (hee was advised) to worke out his owne ends, by continuing on his old courses, and whilst he by *force*, undid the weaker Protestants; by *Courtship* and *Ambiſſages* so long to impose upon the credulity of the greater, till the *Eagle* were ready to shew her pounces. To make our stoutneses, yeeld and comply with our businesse; goes for a note of *Wisedome*. That late *af-front* and *shrewd turne*, which *John George* the Duke and Elector of *Saxony* had so freshly offered him; is not seasonable now to be remembred: twas an unkind part indeed; but yet was his Imperiall Majesty full of graciousnesse: *Austria* could forget, and *Saxony* might make all whole a-
The Duke of
Saxony attemp-
ted to be tur-
ned.

gaine by turning. Thats now attempted. Marquesse *Cadraita*, then *Spaniſh* Ambassador at *Vienna*, was both the *Counſellor* and the *Agent* in it. He in the name of the King his Master, sends Colonell *Paradis* with instructions unto *Dresden*; to make way for the compounding of all former unkindnesses with the Duke of *Saxony*. The *Minutes* of whose negotiation were to this purpose.

the Spanish
ambassadors
opposition.

To expound unto the Elector, the great desire the King his Master had, and the diligence he had used in it; to restore a happy and an universall peace, unto the *Roman Empire*. That his Majesty had most expressly commanded his now present Ambassador, to bee most observant of all such pregnant opportunities, as might either maintaine or make up that memorable and ancient amity, which had so many yeeres continued betwixt the two houses of *Austria* and of *Saxony*. That the King had at this time also most straightly charged his said Ambassador, to interpose the Authority of the Crowne of *Spaine*, for the fodering up againe of these late breaches: which might (if not lookt into) seeme to make a rupture in that amity. That would but the *Elector* now be pleased to hearken to a friendly Treary, he (the Ambassador) came furnished with such instructions, as might with fulnesse of content, compound all the controversies. That his Master, (as hee protested) desired nothing more earnestly, then that his Highnesse (the Duke) with his whole *Electonall* family, might be honoured with more additions of happynesse, then their predecessors ever wete: and that there might be a perpetuated correspondency of all good offices betweene their two Houses. That his Majesty of *Spaine* thought in his high wisedome, this to be the best course for all this; that the Elector would in writing deliver his greevances: and that a certaine place might be appointed, for Commissioners on both sides to treate upon them. Which if his Highnesse would for peace sake be pleased to condiscend unto: then would he (the Ambassador) perswade with his Imperiall Majesty, to ſend two Ambassadors about it: and himselfe

himselfe in the King of Spaines name being Interponent, would take any paines about making up the breaches.

Vnto this *Proposition*, the *Elector* returned this answer. *Saxonys Answer.*
That the purpose of his Majesty of Spaine seemed to have been intended, towards the making of a peace betwixt the Houses of *Austria* and *Saxony* alone; and not of *Germany* in generall. That none of that side could be so ignorant, as not to have observed how sincerely, faithfully, obediently, discreetly, peaceably, and in the highest degree patiently, he had carried himselfe, throughout all the time of this most important and weighty businesse: and how hostilely (on the contrary) both the Count of *Tilly*; Sergeant-Major-Generall *Altringer*, and Felt-marshall *Diepenbach* had used him and his Countryes; which, without any desert at all, they had not invaded onely; but after a barbarous and inhumane fashion ravaged and plundered, and with fire and sword depopulated. That he for his owne part was not a little afflicted, that things were now come to so troublesome, so dangerous and so desperate an issue: from being any occasioner whereof, his hope was, that he could fairely excuse himselfe, before God and the whole world. That he now desired nothing more, then that such faire meanes might both be propounded and apprehended, for the speedy restoring of so good and solid a peace within the Empire; as that a blessed agreement might be made up, betwixt the *Head* and the *Members*: the State surely settled: the miserably afflicted Empire, from this threatned ruine delivered; and all once againe restored, unto its former strength and Majesty. That he could by no meanes conceive a reason, how things in this desperate condition of the whole Empire in generall, could any wayes be bettered, by these personall and particular treatyes. That during the time of these troubles, it had by variety of examples beene manifested; that no generall concord could by these private Leaguings be procured: but that more dangerous consequences dayly brake foorth upon it. That should he now condescend to his Majesty of Spaine in this;

this ; he were no wayes able to excuse himselfe unto the King of *Sweden*, and the *Protestant* States of *Germany*. But if their Majestyes (the Emperour and of *Spaine*) were pleased to intend a just and universall peace ; then would he shew himselfe most willing and most ready ; to doe what:soever lay in his power to performe in it.

A faire answer ; relishing of a publike spirit, and becoming a Prince and *Elector* of the Empire. *Saxony* wisely found out the drift of this *Austrian* courtesie : which pretended private friendships, whilst they intended him publike enmities : and as wisely considered, that he could not long bee safe in his private *Cabin*, whilst the whole Ship were on fire under him. This Treaty was made, in the beginning of October 1631.

Nor yet whilst the thoughts and words of *Peace* were in motion, had the actions of *warre* on his Imperiall Majesties side, any cessation. For so soone as ever the terror of the pursuite of the Victory of *Leipsich* was well over, and the Imperialists in *Silesia* assured, both of the King of *Sweden* expedition into *Duringen* (quite another way from them) and of the stay of the Duke of *Saxonyes* army, yet about *Leipsich* : doe Feild-marshall *Diepenbach* and Colonell *Gotse*, prepare to fall into the Duke of *Saxonyes* Lands, both in the *Upper* and *Lower Lusatia*, which in the yeere 1622, this very Emperor had bestowed upon this same Duke of *Saxony*. The Duke, indeed, seemes to have consumed too much time after his recovering of his City of *Leipsich* ; and to have beeene something too precise and punctuall in examining and punishing such, as had either by their cowardise or affecti-
ons, given occasions of the sudden rending of the Towne unto the Generall *Tilly*. The goods of the offenders (whether absent or present) were condemned : and out of them, 30000 Rixe Dollars allotted, for the repairing of the Sub-
urbs, which themselves during the siege had burned.

Gotse in the meane time comming over the River *Spree*, out of *Silesia* into the *Lower Lusatia* ; takes, plunders, and
burnes

The Imperia-
lists fall into
both the Lusa-
tia's.

burnes the towne of *Luben*, close upon the said river. So is *Dam* also served, standing a little more Westerly. *Gatterbock*, about a league from that, is pillaged: and 30000 Dollars and Dollars-worth, fetcht out of those of *Libenow*. His Horse also take in the little towne of *Schlieben*, in the Iurisdiction of *Hertzberg*: and all the townes, finally, betwixt the rivers of *Spree* and *Elster*; *Cotwitz*, namely, *Spremberg*, *Hoierswerd*, *Firsterwald*, &c. and all this was done before *Michaelmas*, and in the *Lower Lusatia*.

In the meane time had Field-Marshall *Diepenbach* undertaken the *Upper Lusatia*: which lyes neerer to the Sunne, then does the *Lower*. This little Countrey is usulally called *The sixe Townes*; because of so many eminenter Townes in it; which are *Bautzen*, *Gorlitz*, *Sittaw*, *Camitz*, *Lauben* and *Luben*; all belonging to the Elector of *Saxony*. To sollicite *Bautzen*, is Colonell *Four* sent; and Colonell *Illo*, to *Sittaw*: which two, together with the three other on the West side of the *Spree*; are faine to accept of, what they could not avoyde, the taking in of the Emperours garrisons. Vnto *Gorlitz*, (on the same side of the *Spree* next to *Silesia*) *Diepenbach* sends an Imperiall Commissary first: and he not prevailing, some of his armed troopes presenting their *Ordnance* before the Towne; compell the *Citizens* to discharge their *Saxon* garrison, and to take in whom he appointed them. Thus were all the sixe townes by the middle of *October*, become Imperiall. Nor had the Duke of *Saxonyes* owne *Home-stall* (as I may say) beene se-
cure from them. September 30. five hundred *Crabats* brea-
king into *Meissen* or *Misnia*, approach unto old *Dresden*, upon the Easterne banke of the *Elb*; and within lesse then a Dutch
league of New *Dresden*; where the Electors owne Palace is. Here had they thought to have surprized the old *Iaggers* Ca-
stle; but were discovered, and beaten off with the *Ordnance* of it: after which they were scared out of the Coun-
try by the *Saxon* Army. For now the Elector having notice
of all this, September 27. hee first sets out with his Army
from *Leipsich* towards *Torgau* upon the *Elb*; the next fron-
tier

tier towne towards *Lusatia*. The fame went of 22000 men in the Army : and that the Lord Marquesse *Hamiltons* forces, (then about *Custrine* and *Franckford* upon the *Oder*) should be also joyned with them.

he Duke of
Saxonyes forces
give the Impe-
rialists out of
Lusatia.

The Imperialists, upon the newes of *Arnheims*, and the *Saxons* comming; make towards *Hertzberg* bridge, where the *Saxons* were to passe over the *Elster* to come at them. *Arnheim* here forces his passage; beats *Gotse* backe from thence: who was faine thereupon to leave all he had gotten in the *Lower Lusatia*, and retreat with his whole Army into the *Upper*. By the seventh of October, had *Arnheim* againe reduced all the townes of the *Lower Lusatia*; and then followes *Gotse* into the *Upper*: who hearing of his comming, leaves *Diepenbachs* garrisons onely in the *Sixe Townes*; and retires his forces into *Bohemia* partly; and partly againe into *Silesia*. Those that went into *Bohemia*, doe much spoyle by the way in *Walsteins* Dukedom of *Fridland* (which is upon the frontiers of *Lusatia* and *Bohemia*) not sparing his owne Lands and Territories. They were afterwards enquartered in the Earledome of *Glatz*. Those that made towards *Silesia*, did *Arnheim* give chace unto: who so hardly prest upon them, that they in confusion passing the river *Neiss* at *Gorlitz*, were faine for haste to leave their Ordnance in that Citie.

Then falles *Arnheim* upon the Imperialists in the *Sixe Townes*: which being none of the strongest, and the Townsmen willing withall; are as soone reduced now, as they had beene before surprized. All this was done by the twentieth of October; by which, the Duke of *Saxony* himselfe was come to *Bautzen*, with the other lesser part of the Army: and *Arnheim* having thus cleared both the *Lusatias*, is preparing to fall into *Bohemia*.

Arnheim mar-
ches into Bo-
hemia.

October 25. hee first sets forward: taking in *Schluckenau* Towne first of all; where the river *Spree* hath his originall. This is a Romane-Catholike towne upon the Northerne frontiers of *Bohemia*; which the Emperour had heretofore given to the Earle of *Mansvelt*. Thence marches he on to *Tetschin*: where

where the river *Pulsnitz* falls into the *Elb*. This being a wonderfull well provyded place, makes countenance of resistance: but changed their copy by and by, so soone as *Arnheims* Ordnance, and the grosse of his Army, presented themselves before it. Crossing the *Elb* at this place, to *Ausich*, or *Ausig*, he comes: two *Cermane* leagues and a halfe distant. Upon the first newes of the *Saxons* being past the *Elb*, one hundred Horse-men of this *Ausich*, presently runne and tell those of *Tepliz*; a towne just so farre also distant towards the West. Those of *Starahor*, a strong Castle upon a hill kept by foure hundred Imperialists, hearing likewife of the same newes; poorely quit the *Vestung* or hilly Castle aforesaid. Thence, October 28, hyes hee unto *Leutmeritz* on the East side of the *Elb*; within 7 *Dutch* miles or 28 *English*, of the Citie of *Prage*: to which the chiefe of the Citizens and the garrison of *Leutmeritz*, had before *Arnheims* comming retired. Marching more Southerly next day up the *Elb*, the *Austrian* Baron *Hoffkirck* is by him sent with 1000 Horse unto *Raudnitz*, ten or twelve *English* miles further, and upon the other side of the river: which he surprizes. The Inhabitants being all *Papists*, have their houses plundered: some of the chiefe Burgers being carryed away prisoners, for their ran-some, and the fidelitie of their fellowes.

Arnheim having thus farre advanced into *Bohemia*, *Henry Mathias* the old Count of *Thurn*, began to stirre also. His towne of *Thurn*, is upon the very frontiers of the Duke of *Saxonyes Misnia*, and *Bohemia*: and thereabouts (I per-
ceive) he began first of all to rise. He had his Commission for Lieutenant Generall, and some forces, from the King of *Sweden*; some aydes hee received from the Duke of *Saxony*: besides a party of divers banished and discontented Lords and Gentlemen with their Tenants, which he drew into the action. That there were two severall Armies about the end of this October in *Bohemia*; and those severally led too, by *Arnheim* and old *Thurn*, I finde expressely. With the *Swedish* troopes, does Count *Thurn*, first of all take in *Joachim'sdale*: a

and
takes townes
all the way.

The old Count
of *Thurn* makes
a party in *Bohemia*.

towne with a pretty Jurisdiction belonging unto it, upon the West-frontiers of *Bohemia*, mid-way betwixt *Thurn* and *Egra*. Here the people choose the old Count for their Gover-
nour: who bringing the Countrey as hee goes along, under Contribution, marches towards *Prage* to joyne with *Arnheim*.

This great and Imperiall Citie of *Prage*, (which is indeed three severall Cities in one) hearing of these proceedings; begins to lose the company of the Emperours great Officers and *Iesuites*, there residing: all begin to packe away towards *Budweiss* first, and so to *Passaw* and *Vienna*. Nor did *Walenstein* Duke of *Fridland*, *Don Balthasar*, (then Generall in those parts) the Count of *Michna* and Colonel *Wangler*, stay behind: but faining to goe out of the towne, to meeete with the Count of *Thurn* and capitulate with him; they all to-
gether shifted for themselves other-where. These Comman-
ders being immediately followed by the souldiours (lately sent for thither for the defence of the Citie, and said to bee two thousand men) and the Citizens thereby left to them-
selves; yeeld immediately unto *Arnheims* first friendly Let-
ter and Summons, upon the first of November sent unto them by his Trumpet. Himselfe at his comming accorded the whole matter with them, upon these conditions.

Prage taken.

1. First, That the *Saxon* souldiours from their very first admission into the Citie, should behave themselves peaceably and quietly; without offering violence or injustice unto any man.
2. That none of the three Cities of *Prage* should any way be charged: nor any Monasteryes, Colledges, or Churches pillaged. And that free leave of continuing in the towne, should be permitted unto the *Monks* and other *Ecclesiasticall* persons; who shall no wayes be injuryed by the souldioury.
3. As for the Gentry and Magistrates of the said three Ci-
ties, neither should they be burthened with any enquarterings or billeting of souldiours upon them: nor should any ran-
some or other forfeiture bee wrung from them. And if in
case any of them (which is not to be supposed) should so be
used

used by the souldiours : then should they be protected by the Lord *Arnheim*, or who-ever should be the Governour residing in that Citie, where they be so molested.

4. For that the three Cities aforesaid have made an earnest request of it, that they may bee suffered to continue in the homage, which they once tooke oath upon unto the Emperour: and that it may be free for any man to depart the City, without paying any ransome or Fine for it: this condition was for the present accepted of by the Lord *Arnheim*, untill his Highnesse the Elector of *Saxony* should resolve otherwise of it.

5. For that the severall abilities of the Citizens, were most particularly knowne unto their owne Magistrates: it should be left to their choice, in what houses to billet or not billet the *Saxon* souldiours.

6. That the *Jewes* as well as the *Christians*, should have
freedome of religion; and all free protection both for their
lives and goods.

7. That the three Cities should submit themselves to the protection of his Highness the Elector of *Saxony* : and that every man should make promise to live peaceably ; and to give no occasion of sedition : but with a good and true meaning, to observe whatsoever is contained in these Articles : which were by both parties thus signed.

John George Arnheim. { The old, }
{ The new, }
{ The little, } Citie.

Within a weeke after the rendring of *Prage*, came the Duke of Duke of *Saxony* into the Citie: taking up his lodging in that *Saxony* enters goodly faire Palace, lately built by the Duke of *Fridland*, up- *Prage*. on the ruines of an hundred houses. The Count of *Thurn* contented himselfe with taking possession of his owne house againe; which the Emperour had bestowed upon the Count of *Michna*: Hee forthwith caused the heads and limbs of such Protestant Lords and others, as had beene executed by the Emperour, to be taken downe, and honourably buryed.

The Catholike Lords, Gentlemen, and Imperiall Officers of the neighbour Cities, make as much money of their estates as they can, and the most of them depart the Kingdome. Those that stay'd behind, as also the inferiour people, being afraid of ill usage from the souldiours; the Count of *Thurn* gives out a generall *Protection* in the King of *Swedens* name, for the securitie of the Subject. Thus.

The Count of
Thurn gives a
protection to
the Subjects of
Bohemia,

We *Henry Mathias, Count of Thurn, Baron of Ballastrino* and *Creutz*, Lieftenant-Generall to his Maiesty of *Sweden*, &c. doe in his said Maiesties name, give free leave, power, and authority to the Noble Gentleman *John Hoost Theysel*, to protect and defend you and all the subiects of *Bohemia*, from all iniurie, &c. The Boores begin to appeare on the *Swedish* and *Saxish* party, and kill as many Imperiall souldiers as they could singly meete withall and master. They pillage *Postelberg* up on the river *Egra*: with *Brustwald*, and other townes thereabouts. They murther two great Imperiall privy Councillors; the Earle of *Thallenberg* Lord *President*: and the Count of *Trautmansdorff*. The troublesome estate of the Country, may best be read in the Count of *Thurns* Proclamation, for the redresse of it.

and
sets out a Pro-
clamation, to re-
straine divers
insolencies.

We *Henry, &c. Count of Thurn, &c.* understanding, how that divers Boores have begunne, not onely to rob upon the high-waies side, but also to pillage Castles and Gentlemens houses: and that no honest man is able to goe about his busynesse, for feare of being robbed by them: therefore doe we hereby fairely request first of all, and advise them, to give over these insolencies: and to pray to God rather to send them a good Magistrate, under whom they may enjoy peace and quietnesse: that every man may fearelesly returne to his vocation againe, and leave off these idle courses. For this army is not come to ruine or undoe, but to redresse the country rather, against such iniurie as it hath heretofore indured. My hope therefore is, that you will not revenge your former wrongs upon these our souldiers: and I for mine owne part will still continue, as heretofore I have beene, your good

good Patron and Protector. As for those of the Gentry, none I hope will become partakers with these extravagant fellowes; but be a meanes and a helpe rather, to supprese and hinder them in their naughty purposes. My further hope is, that both one and other will apply himselfe, to this our well intended admonition: which (let me tell them) will be a great deale better both for their quiet and for their profit. But whosoever he be, that after this, shall be apprehended for the like faults againe; let him be assured that I will proceed with that severity against him, as his demerits shall require; making him an example unto the rest, that none hereafter may impute their punishment, to any but their owne disobedience. Thus much shall the Lord ~~Adam~~ of Chinitz and Tetaw, cause to bee made knowne unto you.

By this time had *Thurns* part of the Army, taken in all the North-westerne part of the Kingdome, from *Ioachimsdale* aforesaid; along upon the river *Egra*, to the County of *Satz*, called the *Satzer kraiss*; together with the townes of *Satz*, *Commotham*, *Prisen* and the rest, upon the West of the City *Prage*. *Arnheim* with his *Saxons*, did what he pleased upon the rivers *Elb* and *Multaw*, on the South and East side of the City: which he might easily enough doe, for there was not an Imperialist nor strong Towne, to resist him. So easie was this goodly Kingdome to be taken. Towards the middle of November, is the Imperiall Colonell *Gallas* sent in with some troopes against him. In the end of the moneth, when *Tilly* after his rising from *Norimberg*, had sent part of his army into the *Upper Palatinate*, towards *Weyden* and *Egra*: he is requested to fall in with his troopes on the Westerne side; whiles *Don Balthasar*, *Diepenbach*, *Gallas* and *Gotse* should set upon them on the North-East side. *Arnheim* hearing of the comming of *Diepenbach*, *Gallas* and *Gotse* out of *Silesia*, and their being ioyned with *Don Balthasar*: resolues to goe against them, before the *Tillians* should be marcht up too farre into the Country, and he endangered to

The actions af-
ter the taking
of *Prage*.

he Imperia-
sts make head
gaine in Bo-
mia,

be hembd up into the middle of them. By the 26 of November, were 15000 Imperialists, (both out of Bohemia and Silesia) met together at *Limburg* upon the North side of the river *Elb*, some 25 *English* miles from the City *Prage*. Against these, advances *Arnheim*, November 28: very secretly and in the night, without sound of Drumme or Trumpet. Yet not so secretly neither, but that the Imperialists by their espials had notice of their approaching. *Arnheim* now within 2 or 3 *English* miles of *Limburg*, begins to put his men into order; and to give directions for the assailing of the enemy (as he thought) in their Quarters. This whiles he was doing, the Alarme is brought home to him; and word that the enemy had already charged his Van, and disordered it. With that, might he perceive the Imperialists in faire *Battaglia*; and his owne men beginning to take the rowte at it. Perswading thereupon the Regiments next unto him, To remember the cause of religion and the publike liberty, which they came thither to fight for; the military oath taken to their Lord the Duke of *Saxony*; and their owne honours and former victories: he presently leads them on against the Imperialists. Drawing his Sword withall, upon those which he met now fleeing, and vowing to let flye his Ordnance amongst them, unlesse they return'd into the battell: he brought all in order againe, and altogether renewed the encounter. The fight was long; but the Imperialists having brought no Ordnance with them, (their designe having beene onely to surprise *Arnheim* upon his march) and the *Saxon* Ordnance doing much spoyle upon them on the other side: they were faine to retreate in much disorder towards *Limburg*. Many of them were cut downe by the pursuing *Saxons*; and the most of their Regiments routed.

are over-
owne by
Arnheim.

Arnheim summoning *Limburg* upon faire termes, and being refused; shoothes *Granadoes*, and Fire-workes into the Towne: whereupon the Imperialists perceiving all like to be burnt downe, quit the City, and burne the bridge behind them, for feare of being pursued. But the *Saxons* finding a convenient

convenient foord or passage neere-hand over the River, pursue them on that side also. Some 6000 or 7000 men, were said to be slaine in this battaile: whereof there might perchance be little more then halfe so many. *Diepenbach* was at first reported to be kild also: but he saved himselfe by flight, and recovered with *Gotse* into *Silesia*: *Don Balthasar* escaped into *Budweiss*, on the other side of the Country.

The Duke of *Saxony* himselfe about *Prage* in the meane time, hath the Towne of *Melnick* upon the *Elb*, to the North of *Prage*: and the Townes of the Countyes of *Podberder* and *Multaw*, to the South of *Prage*, delivered over unto him. Whilst *Arnheim* is comming backe againe, those of the Army with the Duke, with some of *Thurns* forces; make Westward towards *Egra*: there to prevent the *Tilli-ans*. Some few correspondents and well-wishers to his cause, the Duke then had within the City: the rest generally being *Popish*. Vpon confidence of whom, he presented about 900 Horse and Foote (one with another) before their City upon the Gallowes hill, on Satterday, December 3^d, old stile. The Magistrates perceiving this, first cause the Alarne to be strucke up, and commanded every man, that was able to beare Armes, to repaire unto their guards: but a very few there were, that would make a muster of themselves. The Magistrates calling their Common-Councell together into the *Statehouse*, to consult either upon the meanes of resistance, or Composition: might have better saved the Towne, by putting to their helping hands, then by laying their heads together. For whilst they are there consulting; one of the *Saxons* correspondents by discharging of a warning peece, both calls those without, to presse upon the bridge-Port; and his fellow-Combynars within, to breake open the said Gate for them. The *Saxons* marching immediately up to the market place; there make a prison, of what Master *Mayor* and his *brethren* had made a Parliament-house: locking them all in, and setting a guard upon them. The souldiors presently fall to plunder the *Jury* or streete and houses of the *Jewes*:

Other townes taken.

Egra taken.

Iewes: and those ranker and more practicall Papists, whom they pleased to mistake for *Iewes*. For the *Protestants* and their Correspondents sake, they forbare the rest of the Cittizens: and were content to accept of such Billet and Quarterings, as the still pinfolded Magistrates (more for feare then love) were forced to assigne them. Two dayes after, the Cittizens take oath to the Duke of *Saxony*: that they would stand firmly to the *Elector*, the *Cause*, and the *Protestant Religion*. About this City, were some 8000 *Saxons* for a while kept; untill they saw whereabouts the *Tillians* would settle: who hearing after a while, how *Diepenbach* was defeated; betake themselves into their winter garrisons, *Tillyes* selfe returning unto *Nordlingen*.

The Count of *Thurn* now went to besiege *Budweiss*; a good strong City upon the very Southermost frontiers of the Kingdome, sixty *English* miles from *Prage*. Hither was *Don Balthasar* retired: and this place, he with twenty two Ensignes maintained. But the Count of *Thurn* fell sicke not long after; and the siege came to nothing. Whilst the Duke, and *Arnheim* and *Thurn*, were abroad with the Armyes; the *Austrian* Baron *Hoffkirck* was left Gouernor of the *Greater towne of Prage*, and *Philip Reinhard* Count of *Solms* of the *Lesser*. The Imperiall Horse (and the *Crabats* especially) made divers excursions about the Country; yea even neere unto *Prage* it selfe, in the absence of the armyes. For the Duke of *Saxony* was now preparing to goe keepe his *Christmas* at home: where at *Dresden* he arriued, December 16, and his Felt-Marshall *Arnheim* with him.

December 13, (old stile) divers troopes of *Crabats* made a show of themselves before the *Weissemberger* gate of the greater Towne of *Prage*: hoping of some Correspondents or tumults within, who might helpe them to re-prize it. The Baron of *Hoffkirck* discharging three peeces of *Ordnance* hereupon (which is the signe for the souldiours to take the *Alarne*) and sending out some troopes of Horse against them; drove them to the *retreate*. The next day, (being

The Count of
Thurn falls
sick.

Divers at-
tempts upon
Prage, by the
Imperialists.

(being *Christmas Eve at Prague*, according to the New stile) the Imperialists came on with greater forces : the *Crabats* light horse being backed with 1000 Muskettiers, and flanked with as many Dragooneers. The *Saxons* well aware of their comming, had first drest an ambush of Muskettiers in a lower place of covert for them ; and then sent out two troopes of *Arnheims* owne guards and some others, to entertaine them. These feigning to flee, draw on the Imperialists into the ambush, where a many of them were entrapped by this stale stratageme. By this time, more of the Imperialists apperead in sight ; and with a reasonable good army. Hereupon, doe the *Saxons* retire into the City ; looking that it would forthwith be assaulted. But the Count of *Sultz* and Colonell *Gallas* (who led the Imperialists) perceiving the walls and bullwarkes to be already manned, and the Ordnance busie amongst them : call off their men, and faces about to the right hand. The Towne-Horse perceiving this, fall (as usually they will doe) out upon the Reere of the Imperialists : which as they were about to doe, all on the sudden the bells in the two *Jesuites* Colledges (one in the *old* towne, and the other in the *Lesser*) began to ring out. The Imperialists hearing this signall, offered presently to returne againe towards the City : but the Ordnance now thundering upon them, with the *Imperialists* no Correspondents appearing, and the short winters day being farre spent : they bethought themselves, and marcht off againe.

The Governours and Magistrates speedily sending to the *Jesuites* Colledges, to know the reason of the ringing of their bells ; found divers Armes and Muskets there hidden : which were ready to be used both by the *Jesuites* (who would for that time have beene *Ex militia* too) and by the Imperially-affected within the City ; had but their friends without, once made themselves Masters of any gate or bullwarke. These Armes were taken away : the *Military Jesuites* three dayes after, turnd out of the Towne ; and their 2 Colledges given away to the *Carmelites* and *Franciscans* ; two kinds of

lesse pragmaticallyall fraternities. The *Saxons* perceiving how often they were likely to be assaulted ; stand better upon their guards : the Count of *Solms* causing the Burgers watch, every day to breake the ice of the river *Mulda* ; for feare of the enemies coimming over it.

December 22. the Baron *Hoffkirck* had the first *Protestant Sermon* and *Communion*, in the *Dutch Church* of the *Old towne*, that had in ten yeeres before beene publikely preached in the *Citie*. And by this time, were the exiled *Protestants* Religion resto. (both *Clergy* and *Laity*) in most places of the *Kingdome*, a- red in *Bohemia*. gaine returned ; and liberty of Religion restored.

December 24. the Imperialists, and three Ensignes of *Wal-*
Five troopes of Lons amongst them ; fall upon five troopes of *Colonell Stei-*
Saxons defea- *naw* his Horse ; then lying at *Rakonick*, thirtie *English* miles
ted, to the West of *Prage* *Citie*. The *Saxons* being surprized, are
 knockt downe : scarce 120 of them escaping with their lives,
 and losse of two Cornets. The Imperialists advancing neerer
 towards *Prage*, take short two other *Saxonian* Lieftenants
 and two more. (*Hauguis* and *Wenzor* as I finde them named:) who being
 gone out upon espyall to discover these Imperialists ; found
 them too soone, and lost their owne liberties and companions
 lives, for their labours. Many such excursions and attempts
 were made on either side this cold weather, scarcely worth the
 writing. The *Saxons*, (of whom there were seven thousand
 now in and about *Prage*) being aforehand with them, stirr'd
 little abroad : but by sitting still and bibbing in the warme
Stooves all day long, they proov'd so lazy ; as that they were
 ever now and anon, (though in small numbers) surprized by
 their more active enemies. *Gallas* and the Count of *Sultz* lay
 still in the lurch for them ; even as neere as *Beraun* upon the
 river *Watta*, within twelve or fourteene *English* miles of
Prage, and on the West of it : others of them lying more
 Westerly at that time, towards the *Upper Palatinate*. For this
 reason, was the Duke of *Saxony* constrained to send more
 new levyed forces, with some *Ordnance* ; towards the good
 towne of *Pilsen*, and those quarters : which lye some fixe

or seven leagues more South-Westerly, towards the head of the same river, and in the middle of *Gallus* his Quarters. This strong towne of *Pilsen* (as I should have told you) was by accord rendred unto the Duke, before his going out of *Bohemia*. Colonell *Swalbach* Generall of the *Saxons* artillery, now lay in the County of *Luitmertz*.

The time of the yeere being too cold to fight, the Emperor sends to the Duke of *Saxony* to treat. *Julius Henry*, one of the Dukes of *Saxon-Lawenburg* (who had some yeeres before turned *Papist*,) was the man employed; and about *Christmas* was the time. His Imperiall Maiesy by this Ambassadour, protested himselfe to be very sorry; to have any occasion to withdraw his affection, from so worthy and so beloved a Prince: friendly advising the Duke, that in case he should still continue constant to his purposes, and that if any hard-shipt of warre, or iudgement from God should fall upon him for it; He (the Emperour) should be altogether innocent of it. But the weather was cold, and so was *Saxonyes* answer. These motions were severall times renewed from the Emperour, both by this and other messengers.

About the beginning of *January*, doe the *Saxons*, under the leading of Baron *Hoffkirck*, defeate 900 *Crabats*, and take 11 *Cornets* from them: which they send unto their Duke at *Dresden*. *Prage* after this defeate, was held much the quieter.

About the 15th of *January*, the Imperialists of *Merodies* Regiment, have a designe for the plundering and burning of *Slackenwald*, in the County of *Egra*. Prince *Ernestus* of *Anhalt*, (who then had some good *Saxon* forces thereabouts) hearing of it; comes immediately upon them, and drives them to take Sanctuary in the strong Castle of *Betscha*, The Imperialists (from whence some of them came) about 2 *English* miles lists attempt to the South of *Slackenwald*. Other Imperialists at the same time, make daily excursions even to the very gates of *Prage*. Those 3 Ensignes of *Wallons*, among the rest, that had before cut off 5 Companies of Colonell *Steinam*'s at *Rakonick*; were

with Iosse.

almost every man of them cut in pieces, by those of Colonell Bindthauffs Regiment, before the gates of *Prage*. This Regiment of *Bindthauff* (who was slaine at the Battell of *Leipsich*) was now bestowed vpon *Ulrick*, Prince of *Denmarke* and Duke of *Holstein*.

The Duke of *Saxony* now levying more new forces, about *Torgan* in his owne Countrey; Jan. 18. sends some 10 pieces of Ordnance thither: 4 of which were Demi-Cannon, and drawne with 10 horses apiece; which *Tilly* had left behind him at *Leipsich*. Himselfe was all this while at home at *Dresden*; and *Arnheim* with him: whither the Lord Chancellor *Oxenstiern* likewise came, from the King of *Sweden*. The towne of *Egra* about this time, desires of the Elector, to free them of his unruly garrison. *Prage* it selfe likewise was so sorely oppressed by the *Saxons*; that the poore *Bohemian* Protestants, lately returned to their owne homes out of exile: choose rather to forsake their native Country againe, then to endure the heaviness of such taxations, as the masterly *Saxons* enforced upon them. Thus by the middle of February, were there 1700 houses found empty in the 3 Cities: the easing of which hardship; the keeping of the Duke and *Arnheim*, from hearkning to the Emperour and *Walenstein*, (who layd hard at them:) to hasten forward the *Saxon* levies; and to renew the former league with the Duke, was the chiefe part of Chancellor *Oxenstierns* Ambassage.

In the beginning of February, Prince *Ernest* of *Anhalt* with the 8000 *Saxons* he had in and about *Egra*; makes shewe of rising thence; and of going against *Cratz* into the *Upper Palatinate*. The occasion, was a feare conceived upon the Count of *Sultz* his going out of *Bohemia*: which he thought had beene to fetch in *Cratz* thither. This made him bristle up. But hearing of *Cratz* and *Sultz* their going to the reliefe of *Forcheim*, (a cleane contrary way from him) he staines his expedition, and lookes to the Imperialists neerer hand. Within *Egra*, was Colonell *Starschedel*, left Governour. February 3 (old *Style*) there was a great *Hubub* sent into *Prage* from *Brandeis*

The *Saxons*
hard dealing
with the *Bohe-
mians*.

Brandeis (a towne upon the *Elb*, some 10 *English* miles to the North of it) that the Imperialists were with divers pieces of Ordnance, comming very strong against them. Hereupon does the Baron *Hoffkirck* make towards *Brandeis*, to prevent the enemy: who falling on upon the towne, Febr. 8, were put by their designe, and retyred. The next day, would a Horse-Regiment of the *Crabats* (with some Foot) needes make another brave before the Towne; as if they had meant presently to have attempted it. This the Governour perceiving, thrusts some bands of selected muskettiers (for an ambush) into the Castle, (on the same side of the towne next unto the enemies) and with some few of the residue, sallies (in policy) out upon the *Crabats*. These perceiving the sallyers to be but weake, fall instantly upon them, and beate them backe to the very wals of the Castle: presently whereupon the *Saxon* Muskettiers issuing out, and the sallyers returning upon the *Crabats* againe; kill 300 of them upon the place: defeate, and disperse the whole Regiment. Here (as they heard at *Prage*) was the Count of *Slyck* either wounded or taken prisoner. The same third of February did some loose troopes of *Crabats* and others, put themselues (for the seeking of pillage) over the river *Mulda*, towards *Pilsen*: of which the Boores having notice, gather 600 of them together, sinke the boates first of all in which the *Crabats* had passed the river; and then set upon, and cut the throates of the plunderers. Thus the Boores served the *Crabats* often-times; whose very name was more odious unto them, then any other of the Imperialists. These Boores undertooke the keeping the Westerne banke of the *Mulda*: which about this time, they had cleared for 40 *English* miles together.

¶ February 13, was Colonel *Marezan* sent from *Don Balthasar thasar di Marradas*, (now lately returned from *Walenstein* turns the with 8000 men into *Bohemia*) to fall upon the town of *Satz*, upon the North of the river *Egra*: and about 40 *English* miles to the West of *Prage*. *Marezan* brought but 1000 muskettiers and 500 Horse, to doe the feate withall; his trust was

The Boores kill
the *Crabats*.

upon his Correspondents within the towne : who indeed opened the gates in the night time unto him. The *Saxons* which were of *Bindthauff's* old Regiment, tooke the Alarne, and had three severall charges with the Imperialists. In ~~at~~ recovered which service, 1200 of them lost their lives, the towne y the Imperialists, was wonne, and 6 Ensignes sent unto *Prage* unto the Empourer.

and divers other townes.

And this returne of *Don Balthasars*, gave the first jogge ; which turnd round the *wheele* of *Fortune* againe in *Bohemia*. Some *Saxon* forces (as if they had meant to give way to their enemies and misfortunes) were gone a iolly voyage into *Silesia* : to pillage and triumph certainly. There, about mid February, they fall foule upon Colonell *Ilo* and his Regiment : which they almost utterly defeated. They surprise other Imperialists at *Politz* : and with a running pull, had like to have taken in *Glatz* also. Some of them flye out as farre as *Gorlitz*. Thus whilst the souldiours gate some flight pillage in *Silesia* ; the Duke their Master, loit what they had before gotten him in *Bohemia*. For quickly now had *Don Balthasar* driven other of the *Saxons* out of *Comotha*, *Prisen*, *Rade* and *Caden* : which last, the *Mapps* falsely write *Lada*. The Marquesse of *Gran*, he also expulses them out of *Slackenwald* and *Carlsbat*.

And thus through the idlenesse, covetousnesse, and deepe security of the *Saxons*, (now in the absence of their Duke and *Arnheim*, and the sicknesse of the Count of *Thurn*;) was all that North-westerne corner of *Bohemia*, next unto *Misnia* and the *Upper Palatinate*, quite recovered by the Imperialists. These being Masters of that wooddy frontier, cut downe the trees upon all the Passes thereabouts : to hinder by that meanes the Duke of *Saxony* from sending any Horsemen, Ordnance or Ammunition-wagons, that way into *Bohemia*. Yea, and had not the snow now hindered the Imperialists, they had even then marched into *Misnia*. The plague and famine, now increased in *Prage* and other places; and all things seemed to threaten an alteration. The *Saxons* had not used their

their brother-Protestants, so kindly as they should, or might have done: which alienated the *Bohemians* hearts, that should have assisted them.

His Highnesse the *Elector* himselfe, was at a meeting or *Diet* at *Torgau*, about the end of this February. There was his *Arnheim* too. There were the Marquesse *Elector* of *Brandenburg* in person: and that wise Statesman, the *Swedish* Chancellor *Axel Oxenstiern*. The Emperor with other *Leaguers*, had their Ambassadors there also. Thus whilest one ^{A Diet at Torgau, where the} Imperiall Generall (*Walenstein*) is providing; and another (*Don Balthasar*) is already faine against *Saxony* into *Bohemia*; ^{Catholikes} is therean Imperiall Ambassador sent towards *Saxony*, unto *Torgau*. Now whilest the warres are hotest, the *Leaguers* and *Imperialists* make motions for a peace (that was their businesse) which by *Oxenstierns* and the *Protestants* demanding, to have the charges of the warre repayed; were put by for that present.

February 29. 400 Companyes of *Polackes* passe the River of *Mulda* neere unto *Soltzan* and *Pribus*; (some 30 *English* miles to the South of *Prage*) to goe towards *Pilsen*. Seven hundred more of them, are bold to venter their passage over the same River at *Konigsal*, within five *English* miles of *Prage* also. Against these, are three *Saxon* Captaines, *Stram, Liech-wies*, and *Toner* sent; with five troopes of Horse, and three Companyes of Foote, to hinder their passage, if it might bee. By the beginning of March, were almost all the passages about *Prage* blocked up: those onely excepted towards *Dresden*, which the *Saxons* made a shift to keepe open.

| And now began they (and it was more then time) to looke better to themselves at *Prage*. They fortifie the Horse-market; raise a skonce over the bridge there; plant some Ordnance upon all places of advantage; and towards the wa-
ters side especially. Now begin the *Saxons* to grow jealous of the *Catholike* Burgers, in all the three townes of the City: ^{The Saxons at Prage grow jealous of the many Catholikes.}

many of them are committed, for that some letters of suspicion were found about them; others executed, for sending letters to *Budweis*, and entertaining practices and correspondencies with the Imperialists. All *Catholikes* are by sound of Drumme forbidden, to appeare upon any Alarme abroad in the streets; yea or to be seene out at their windowes, terrasses, or Balconees, upon paine of great punishment: but all the Protestants should upon like occasion, resort unto the small side Ring upon the said Horse-Market-place.

The *Diet of Torgau* being ended, the Duke of *Saxony* drawes his new levyed forces together to the frontiers; to be ready to march with the first of the Spring, into *Bohemia*. This list of his Army was given abroad. Of his Horse Regiments were these 8 Colonels, with each 1000 horse under him. The Duke of *Saxon-Altenburg*. *Vlrick*, Duke of *Holstein* and Prince of *Denmarke*. *Ernestus* Prince of *Anhalt*. Baron *Hoffkirck*. Colonell *Tarben*. Colonell *Steinass*. Colonell *Kalkstein*, and Colonell *Vitzthimb*. besides 2000 Horse of the Country Gentlemens; and two troopes more of 150 a-peice, under *Vitzthimb* and *Truckses*. In all 10300. Of the Foot Companyes, were there 9 Regiments under these Colonels: whereof eight had 3000 a-peice, and the last 2500. The *Life-Regiment*, *Arnheim*, *Swalbach*, *Starschedel*, *Lofer*, *Kitzing*, *Wilbersdorff*, *Vitzthimb*, and *Maschnitz*. To these were added 500 Voluntiers under Colonell *Appelman*, and 600 more, under three other Captaines. In all 27600. Horse and Foote in all, 37900.

The list of
Saxonies new
levyes.

This List, if ever it were filled up; and had the Forces been muster'd and brought together; hardly could the *Saxons* have beene excused from the imputation of errant *Pultrones*, and *Cullions*, so quickly to lose so brave a Kingdome as *Bohemia*: and to suffer the warres so suddenly to be brought home to them, into their owne *Misnia* and *Lusatia*. But *Walenstein* came sooner upon them, then was expected. The

Elector

Elector of Brandenburg, had some 8000 men, now also in a readinesse; unto whom the Swedish Colonell Dubalt being afterwards conjoyned, those few made better worke of it in Silesia; then all these Saxons did in Bohemia. This caused both the Duke and his Felt-marshall *Arnheim* to be suspected, of what they were no way guilty. The suspition was partly occasioned, by *Arnheims* going from the Duke to treate with *Walenstein*: but the Duke answered honorably; and *Arnheim* hath prooved himselfe an honest man; refuting such termes as *Waelnstein* (tis said) offered him.

Some aspersions wypt off, from the Duke of Saxony and Arnheim.

Whilst *Saxony* was a pruning his feathers, the Imperialists were againe upon the wing. Aprill 3^d. they assault *Elnbogen* upon the River *Eger*; a little to the North of *Slackenwald* and *Falkenaw* aforementioned. Twelve hundred men they brought against it; and two dayes and nights together, they batterd it. All which time, *Vitzthimb* with his garrison, and the Cittizens helpe', defended the Towne, and put off one or two assaults, very manfully. Aprill 5th, the Imperialists fell very furiously on againe; and were againe as bravely repulsed. By this time the neighbour Regiments of *Saxon-Altenburg* and *Anhalt*, resolve either to remoove the siege; or else to beate up a Quarter, and to thrust some succors into the Towne: upon whose comming, the Imperialists gave it over, and retired.

The siege of Elnbogen raised by the Saxons.

The rest of Aprill, was spent with losse unto the *Saxons*. By the end of it, the Elector of *Saxony* advances with part of the Army into *Bohemia*: and May 3, *Arnheim* and *Philip Reinhard* and forsaken. of *Solms*, march up after him with the residue. *Arnheims* employment was, to goe for *Pilsen*: and the Count of *Solms* was to returne into *Prage* againe. May 7th, the *Saxons* set up- on *Falkenaw*, on the Eastern banke of the River *Eger*, and betwixt *Egra* and *Elnbogen*. The Towne they take in by *Scaladoe*; and prepare likewise to storme the Castle: which whilst they were about to doe, the Imperialists from thence setting fire upon the Towne (with fireworks which they flung downe) enforced the *Saxons* to leave it also.

Some Actions betwixt the Saxons and the Walsteiners.

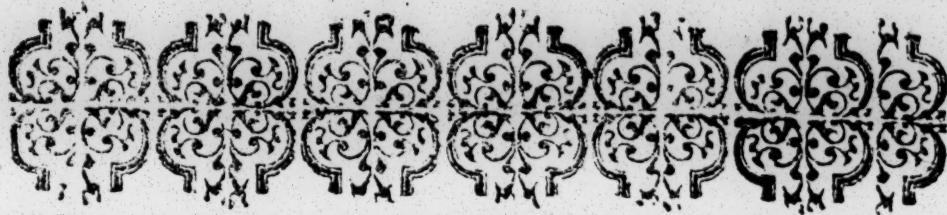
Walstein ad-
vances into
Bohemia.

About the fourth of May, had the *Saxon* Regiments of the Duke of *Holstein* and *Klitzing*, with other their Associates: defeated three of *Walsteins* new Regiments neere unto *Commotha*. The *Saxons* of *Swalbachs* Regiment that lay at *Leutmeritz* upon the *Elb*, now burne downe their bridge there, to prevent the *Walsteiners* comming at them: who then lay at *Budin* some two leagues from them to *Prage-ward*.

Walenstein with his whole great Army, was by the beginning of Aprill 1632, upon his march towards *Bohemia*: who quickly recovered *Prage*, and forced the Duke of *Saxony* and *Arnheim* home into *Misnia*: as in *His Proceedings* we shall tell you.

And thus being able for this time to doe the *Saxons* no greater honour, then to say no more of them: we leave the rest of their losses, to be pursued in *Walsteins Story*: and the recovery of their honours in *Silesia* and else-where, we leave unto the *Third Part*.

The



The Military Preparations of the Lord *Albert Walstein* Duke of *Fridland, &c.* against the Duke of Saxony, and King of Sweden.



Is Imperiall Majesty by the middle of October 1631: perceiving the small hopes he had of drawing the Duke of *Saxony* unto his party againe, by the Complements of an Embassage; and that the said Dukes forces had by this time driven the Imperiall army under *Gotse*, out of *Lusatia*; were too hard for *Diepenbachs* in *Silesia*; and becomme a terror now unto *Don Balthasars* in *Bohemia*: begins to consult (as it was high time) upon the setting forth of another Army to oppose him. Those that were the advisers, became also the advancers of his Counsailes. His Majesty the King of *Spaine*, contributed 300000 double Pistolets. His Majesty King *Ferdinand* of *Hungary*, laid downe so many Rixe Dollars. Prince *Eggenberg* Duke of *Crumau* (the Emperours chiefest Councillour) underwrit for 100000 Dollars. The Cardinall and Prince of *Diederickstein*, for so many Gilders. The Bohemian Count of *Michna*, for 100000 of his Country Dollars. The new Bishop of *Vienna*, (late Abbot of *Cremsmunster*) for 80000 Rixe Dollars: and the Lord *Stralendorff*, Vice-Chancellor of the Empire, undertooke for 18000 Duckats. Other Gentlemen likewise, that either had received, or that now expected any Court favours or preferments; might not be behind-hand with their Largesse.

To

E e 2

* Of Strigoni-
um, or Gran in
Hungaria.

To sollicite the *Popes bounty* (rather then his *benediction*) is the *Hungarian* * Cardinall *Pasman* employed: who for being a Cardinall, the Court of *Rome* would not acknowledge for an Ambassador: nor that the warre he caine about, was *a warre of Religion*. So that Saint Peters Successor having no favourable inclination towards *Cæsar*, saved his purse by this tricke and avoyded (very *Romanly*) the treating with the Cardinall upon that chargeable argument. The Lord *Rabata*, Governour of *Gradisca* in *Hungaria*, goes at the same time, with *Pasman*, unto the Princes & Gentlemen of *Italy*: carrying blanke Commissions along with him, to give out to such as would levy for the Emperour: and an empty purse, for such as would contribute towards it. After them in May following, goes the yong Duke of *Eggenberg* unto *Florence* to muster, and to bring the *Italian* forces into *Germany*. And thus was the *first* of the three *Principles of Warre* (the *Matter of money*) taken order for: which is worthily called the *Sinewes of it*: for that by the Languidenesse or vigorous activity of this same *money*, the *warre* becomes either a *Giant* or a *Lame souldiour*.

There had no meaner Generall all this while beene named, then the Emperours owne sonne, *Ferdinand King of Hungary*. *Eggon* Count of *Furstenberg* having a good friend of his Kinsman *President Ferstenberg* at Court; hopes for the Preferment: or to be *Adjutant* or *Director* at least, unto King *Ferdinand*. He had left his troopes with *Tilly*, presently after their joyns over-throw; and hearing of another mans calling to the place a little after this, he leaves the warres, and retires unto a privacy.

For the Lord *Albert Walenstein* Duke of *Fridland* was the man, that had the voyces of the Courtiers for it: such Councillors especially, as being lovers of his vast bounties; knew by experience, that if *Fridland* chanc't upon a good *Mayn*, strucke a lucky hand of it, he would pay the boxe well for it. *Walenstein* (they knew) was no such slight Captaine, as those that had scarce heard of him, supposed. Hee had heretofore

heretofore done good service against the *Turkes*; beaten the Count of *Mansfeld* and the Duke of *Brunswicke*, severally, in the yeere 1626; and borne downe, since that, all before him in *Mecklenburg* and *Pomerania*. *Cesars* memory needed not to be refresht, with any new mention of *Walensteins* old ser-vices (the Emperour knew him to be for his turne:) but the discontents, that *Bavaria* and other Princes (whom his Majesty had present need of) would take, at his calling in a-gaine; became the difficulty. But these being by the art of others, either quickly made lesse; or argued downe; as if priuate respects, must of duty give way unto publike neces-sities: the same Lord *Questenberg*, who had beene sent from the *Diet* of *Ratisbone* to discharge him; is now dispatcht a-gaine to invite him. It was in the beginning of November, a time of *Walensteins* good leisure; he then living at his owne faire Castle of *Zraim* in *Moravia*: as being by the *Saxons* tother day, chased out of *Bohemia*.

*Walenstein in-
vited to the
Generallship.*

His old friend *Questenberg* could not (it seemes) prevaile with him at the first; it was the month of December ere *Wa-lenstein* would accept it: and then (as himselfe professed) at the perswafions of Prince *Eggenberg*. And herein (me thinkes) appeares a strange mixture of spirit, in this *Walenstein*; that be-ing supposed as haughty and ambitious of Command, as any man in the world; yet was he so farre foorth master of the greatnesse of his owne desires; as that he could with as much moderation now refuse the Generallship, as he had before re-signd it: he would not have authority, but with *freedome*, and his owne *Conditions*. Others have censured this for *Pride* in him: though nothing (me thinkes) lookes like *Honour*. *Wa-lenstein* (sure) would have proved an excellent *Scholler*, he keepes himselfe to his *Termes* so well. In the Letter of his ac-ceptance, he was thus free with the Emperor. That his deserts, had bin fuller of merit; then his usage had bin either of reward or acknowledgement. That small encouragement had he there-fore to hazard his quiet, his state, his honor, or his person a-gaine, for any service of the Emperors. But yet had Prince *Eg-*

accepts of it
or a time.

genberg such an obligation upon him, that at his request he was contented to be brought on againe. Yet not so, as absolutely to accept of the Generallship; otherwise then upon certaine conditions onely: and those would himselfe have the liberty of propounding.

1. First, he would entertaine the place, but for three moneths onely: nor would hee take his Commission, for longer then the first of March following.

2. Hee would not have it expected, that hee should wage battell in that time with the enemy.

3. The service hee would doe the Emperour, was, to levy as many souldiours for him, as would repayre unto his Ensignes.

4. After all which, hee would bee contented that another man should bee appointed Generall over them: or rather (which was his private wish) that a good peace might bee treated upon.

The Imperiall Commission being sent him unto *Znaim* in *Moravia*; he there began to hang out his Ensignes, to beate up his Drums, and to give out his Patents for a levy. Not yet as Generall; for King *Ferdinand* (for the more credit to the action) still kept the Title of *Generalissimo* to himselfe. To lay the ground-worke for the new Army, was *Diepenbach* (either voluntarily or by command) brought to resigne up his *Silefian* troopes unto *Walenstein*.

The levyes went on; and the intention was knowne to be His first levyes. for the recovery of *Bohemia*; for which exploit, *Walenstein* had golden mountaines promised him. But for such a worke, all things went not on, as he desired: he would come into the field like himselfe, or not at all. The moneyes already raised, were too small a summe for him: and he would have his men in the best manner accommodated. He demands three millions of gold, for the raising of 70000 men: propounds to have 5000 Curiassiers or men at armes, raised in the *Low Countries*: and that Baron *Dhona* should bring him 10000 *Cosacks*: He desires Quarter for twelve Regiments in *Moravia*;

ravia; for foureteene in *Silesia*: for sixe in the *Upper and Lower Austria*: and for the rest in *Bohemia*, till the Army were ready to goe into the Field. In the end of January, hee gives out a Command unto all his Colonels and Captaines, to have their Regiments and Companies complete, by the first of March following. Vpon the first of February, hee sets out a Proclamation to call in all such souldiours, as were then in service of the enemy. This was the Briefe of it.

Wee ^a Albrecht by the Grace of God, Duke of *Mechlen-* ^{a Albert.} *burg, Fridland and Sagan*: Prince of ^b *Wenden* or of the *Van-* ^b That is, of *dals*; Count of *Schwerin*, and of the Countries of *Rostock* *Rugen, Vse-* and *Stargard*, &c. Whereas we heare of divers Officers and ^{dome and wo} *lin*; three ⁱⁱ common souldiers belonging heretofore unto the Armies of ^{in Pomerania} his Imperiall Maiesy, to be at this present in service with the called ^{The 5} *enemy*: we therefore give notice unto them by these presents, ^{of the Vand} That whosoever of them will come backe within 6 moneths, He calles tht shall be pardoned and entertained. And we command all our *Germanes* fr Officers of warre to entertaine them, and never to reproach the Kings se them with their former offences; but the kindlier rather to ^{vice.} entreat them.

Given at *Znaim*, Febr. 1. 1632. Stylo novo.

In the end of December, and beginning of January, had there beene a meeting of the States at *Vienna*: where there was an enlargement of contributions agreed upon for the army: For money was scarce as yet, nor were the souldiers halfe armed. Vpon the 11th and 12th of January (old Style) the Regiments already levied in *Moravia*; were drawne together from about *Brin*, and *Olmuntz*, unto *Znaim*: where being mustered, they were sent among the Emperors Tenants of *Austria* to be enquartered. This they complayning to his Imperiall Maiesy of, are referd for their redresse unto *Walenstein*. There seemes to have beene some rub in the businesse, that discontented our Duke of *Fridland*, about this middle of January: whereupon he boldly gave it out, that he would ^c continue

Hungari-
refuse to
the Em-
our.

continue Generall but till May-day following. Monies (it seemes) came not in currantly ; nor the aides that he expected out of *Hungarie* : for the *Hungarians* had broken up their *Diet* or *Land-day* at *Thirnau*, without one Subsidie towards the Emperor. *Esterhazy* the *Hungarian Palatine* was answered by the States,

1. That they had evident and present employment for their owne monies and forces : the *Turkes* being ready to fall into their Country.

2. That they were not bound to send any forces out of the Kingdome unto their King ; for that they knew no enemy he had : and it more concerned them, to strengthen their own Frontiers.

3. That they knew no other enemy, either within or without the Kingdome , but the *Turke* onely.

But *Walenstein* by the end of January had better content (it seemes) his name was said to be set into the Commission before the Duke of *Bavariaes* ; and *Arnold* Secretary of State is sent from *Viennn* to *Znaim* unto him : whence he went to solicite the old King of *Poland*. The Imperiall levies went on afterwards something cheerfullier ; both in *Moravia* , *Austria* , and *Bohemia* : the Archduke *Leopold* raises one Regiment of Horse towards it ; and the Count of *Michna* another : which last man knew how to make himselfe a sauer well enough, for that he was now appointed Commissary-General unto the Army. Towards the end of February, *Walenstein* sets out his Proclamation for provisions for the army: by which every Free-holder is commanded to furnish him daily with 2 pounds of bread , one of flesh, 2 pints of wine, and 2 Crowns a moneth contribution ; together with lodging for the souldiers : besides 2 bottles of hay, and as much straw a day, with 2 bushels of oates weekly, and five Crownes a moneth besides , for every Horseman. This went hard with a many of the poore Farmers of *Austria*. The States of *Silesia* send in their monies , for the maintenance of the Regiments imposed upon them ; that they might so bee

free

free from their unruly companie.

By the beginning of March, had *Fridland* gotten 20000 men together: and the first weeke of that moneth, he commands all his military Officers to wait on him at *Znaim* for their directions.

The army presently after this, beganne to congregate and come together: and *Brin* the chiefe towne in *Moravia*, is their first Rendezvoas: where being mustered, they were sent to be otherwhere enquartered. The King of *Hungaria* had not all this while given over the title of *Generalissimo*: but still the voice went, of his going into the field. By April, is there another Counsell taken; and the Duke of *Fridlands* Commission being renewed, he hath the title of *Generalissimo*, or *Generall of Generalls*, conferred upon him. Of his entertainment of the *Generallship*, these *Conditions* went abroad. Which for that the strangenesse of them, may make some wise men to misdoubt them: therefore, as I would be loth to be taxed for concealing any safe part of my Intelligence from my Readers; so will I not by arguments oppresse any mans credulity. Here they are barely propounded, as they were word for word translated out of the printed *High Dutch* copy: which I doubt not but I shall find, in some after *Stories*.

*walenstein mad
Generalissimo.*

The Contents of the *Conditions*, wherupon the Duke of *Fridland* hath re-accepted of the *Generallship*: which in the name of his *Imperiall* Maiesty, hath by divers *Privy Councillors* (both of *Warre* and *State*) beene offered unto him. But especially and in most solemne manner, by the Duke of *Crumau* and *Eggenberg*.

I.

THE Duke of *Fridland* shall be *Generalissimo*, not onely for the Emperor, but also for the King of *Spaine*, and the whole house of *Austria*: and for ever so continue.

Ff

2. The

The condition upon which, he accepteth of the *Generallship*

2.

The Generalship shall be wholly and plenarily conferred up on the Duke of *Fridland*, in the most absolute forme that may be.

3.

His Royall Maiestie *Ferdinand* the third, shall not be personally present in the army: much lesse have any command over it. But when the Kingdome of *Bohemia* shall be againe recovered, his Maiesty shall personally keepe Court at *Prage*; and *Don Balthasar di Marradas* for his better security, shall waite upon him with 12000 men in *Bohemia*; untill there be an universall peace established in *Germany*. For the Duke of *Fridland* well perceiveth, that the *Bohemians* both must and will have their King to be personally resident among them. By this meanes also, shall both the Emperor and his Generall rest the better assured, that no rebellion shall there be attempted.

4.

His Imperiall Majesty shall give him security in the best manner, that he shall have some Lordship given him in inheritance in *Austria*, for his ordinary recompence.

5.

Hee shall for his extraordinary recompence, have the highest Royalty, in any of the recovered Countries of *Germany*.

6.

Hee shall have the disposall of all the * Confiscations in the Empire, after the most absolute manner. So that neither the Imperiall Councell, nor *Exchequer*, nor the Chamber at *Spiers*, shall pretend any Interest in them, either in part or in whole: nor have any thing to doe with the decision of them.

7.

The Duke of *Fridland* shall have absolute power to dif-
fer, not onely in matters of *Confiscation*, but of *Pardons*
also. And notwithstanding there should from the Emperors
Court

He means it,
the lands
and goods of
tho only as
himselfe should
aquer.

Court, be granted any letters of *Safe-Conduct* or of *Pardon*: yet that without the Duke of *Fridlands* confirmation, they shall be of no value: and extend no further then unto *Life* and *Honour*, and not unto *Goods* or *Estate*: the reall and absolute pardoning whereof, shall be granted by him alone. For his Imperiall Maiesty is too gracious and too good: and pardoneth every one, that sues to his Court for it. Which if it should be so still, then should the higher and lower *Colonells* and *Officers* of the *Army*, have their rewards taken away; and the *souldiery*, that which should give them content.

8.

And if there should ere long happen to be a peace treated upon in the Empire; that then the Duke of *Fridlands* owne *Interest* to the *Dukedom* of *Mecklenburg*, should be contained in the capitulation.

9.

All the charges and expences for the continuation of the warre, shall be given unto him.

10.

All the hereditary Dominions of his Imperiall Maiesty, shall at any time be open unto him, and his *Army*; to retreat into upon occasion.

If any thing may seeme to make these Articles lesse credible, it is that a many will hardly be brought to suspect, that the Emperour should ever condiscend to the creating of such a *military Dictator*; for so he is upon the point. But let the Duke of *Fridlands* mighty vast spirit bee considered; the Emperors present and pressing necessities weighed; the King of *Hungariae* giving over remembred, the absolute authority exercised by the Generall observed; and other accidents and circumstances considered: and then will not the beliefe of it come so impossibly: as at first sight it appeareth. It might be judged to be as beneficall for the Empire at this time, to have a *Dictator* created; as it hath often beene for the State of *Old Rome*; who did thus, in all their extremities.

ties. But I heere leave every man to his owne ingenuity : for mine owne part I conceive, that his Imperiall Majesty did not *weakely*, but *wisely*, yea *very wisely* in it. This both made the Generall the more awfull to the Country, and his owne souldiors ; and provided against the losse of many a faire opportunity , whilst new orders upon every occasion, must otherwise be sent for to *Vienna*. Presently after this, and about the beginning of Aprill, hee appointed some of his to enter *Bohemia* : their first Rendezvous being at *Konigsgratz* upon the *Elb*; directly East almost of *Prage*. Himselfe met with the rest of his army, at *Sweinitz* in *Silesia*, about the same time : for whom victuals had beene bought at *Breslaw*.

He advances into Bohemia.

His numbers.

He takes and burns Budin.

He proounds a Peace unto Saxony.

Hee was reported, all together, to have had an Army of 50000 men: and to be sure, *Wallenstein* would not come into the field without as good provisions for them, as the Empire could at that time affoord them. There went Lists abroad of 99600 men, in 42 Regiments, that he should have in his Army. But these perchance, were given out but for terror : nor doe I thinke, he had full 40000 together in one Army. To omit smaller Rencounters of his. He towards the end of Aprill, sweeping along upon the Northern parts of the Kingdome , betwixt the Duke of *Saxony*es new Conquests in *Bohemia*, and his owne hereditary Country of *Misnia*; passes his men over the *Elb*, about *Budin*, some twenty *English* miles to the North of *Prage* City, and neere the place where the River *Egra* falls into the *Elb*. This *Budin* had either made resistance, or given some distaste or other unto him : and therefore to shew other places, how ill he meant to take the like usage, he turnes *Budin* into ashes. Thence advances he Southward unto *Schlani*, a Shire-Towne almost right against *Prage* : which he takes, and encamps at. Hence sends he a Trumpet with his Letters unto the Duke of *Saxony*; To enforme him of the Commission he had from his Imperiall Majesty, fully to treate upon and conclude a faire peace with him : wherefore his advice was, that there might be some Commissioners deputed on both sides, to meete and treate upon

upon the termes of it. The Elector of *Saxony* sends his Felt-Marshall *Arnheim* (who is an excellent Speaker) unto *Walenstein*, then at *Schlani*: and *Walenstein* sends Colonell *Sparr* backe with *Arnheim*, unto the Elector. The conditions that *Sparr* brought, were much to the same purpose, with those the Spanish Ambassador had before propounded: namely, For a private league betwixt the Houses of *Austria* and *Saxony*; and no way towards an Universall peace of the Empire; or mention of any other Protestant Princes. The Dukes answer was, That he very lately had renewed his former league with the King of *Sweden*; and had bound himselfe to conclude nothing without the privity and consent of his said Majesty. *Sparr* returning with this answer, is sent backe againe for a better: but *Saxony* desired his Excellency the Duke of *Fridland*, to rest satisfied with the former: seeing, *Saxony* refuses that unlesse there might be a Cessation of Armes, untill the King of *Sweden* s pleasure might be knowne; he was able to give no other.

Walenstein all this time refreshed his Army; and perceiving the Dukes resolution, advances in one of the first dayes of May, towards *Prage* City. He first presents himselfe on the side which was easiest to be approached; upon the *Starre-Parke*, right before the *Lesser* City. Some 7000 *Saxons* (or neere-upon) there were in all the three Cities: whereof 2000 now were in this *Lesser*. Summons being given and denied, *Walenstein* brings forward his Approches. Some *Walenstein* besieging *Prage*, Sallies and Rencounters there passed: for all which, *Walenstein* gat up a very large Battery, and mounted twenty pieces of good Ordnance upon it. A vast breach and a faultable, he made, and commands it to be stormed. The *Saxons* maintained it very stoutly: and beat off the Assailants many times (tenne times, some say) from their walls. But *Walenstein* resolving to spare for no mans-flesh; makes his Horse-men drive on, and keepe up the Footemen, and so overlayes the defendants with numbers & repeated attempts, that he by *takes the Lesser* fine force enters this *Lesser* City. Those in the *New* and *Old* City by assault.

Townes perceiving this, fall upon the first Summons to capitulate: but could obtaine no other conditions of him, that knew the weakenesse of the Cities as well as themselves: then, That they should goe out with their lives, and baggage, onely with swords by their sides, and leaving their Colours, and other Armes, and Ordnance, behind them. The *Saxons* being forced to assent, leave twentyone, say some; twenty four Ensignes, say *others*; unto the Conquerour: who presently sent them to *Vienna* unto the Emperour. Who, to reward his Generall for this, and to encourage him to future Services; sends him the Title of Duke of great *Glogau* in *Silesia*, for it. The *Saxon*-garrisons were convoyed out of *Prage*, unto *Leutmeritz*.

Prage thus taken about the fourth of May, old stile: the Conquerour sends another messenger unto the Duke of *Saxony*, to renew the former treaty: his forces in the meantime, fairely putting other of the *Saxons*, out of the next townes of *Bohemia*. The Curriers passing to and againe, betwixt *Prage* and *Dresden*, *Saxony* (at last) consents to take a view of the Imperiall Propositions: which the easie taking of *Prage*, hee perceives, to have made much the harder. These foure they were said to be: and *Sparr* carryed them.

1.

That whereas the Elector had demanded restitution of the domages, done by the *Tillyaers* in his towne of *Leipsich*, and otherwhere in his Countrey: he should cast up those spoyles too, which his *Saxon* Armies had done the Emperour in *Bohemia*; and set the tone against the tother.

2.

That hee should make downe-pay, of two moneths meanes unto the Imperiall Army.

3.

And freely and speedily give over the Bishopricks, Church-lands, and Cloysters; which he yet held impropriated.

4.

And endeavour to get the King of *Sweden* out of *Germany*.
These

and the other
two by compo-
sition.

Walenstein re-
ceiving the
reaty with
Saxony,

Ends him these
hard conditi-
ons.

These four demands if hee satisfied him in ; then would his Imperiall Majesty bee pleased , To condiscend unto the granting of free exercise of the *Evangeliacall Religion*, thorowout the Kingdome of *Bohemia*.

But the Duke of *Saxony* not holding himselfe yet brought so low , by the taking of one *Citie* ; as to stoope to such disadvantageous conditions : utterly refuses to treat upon them. Tis an old tricke of State , That when a stronger enemy purposes either to picke a quarrell with a weaker , or otherwise to gaine upon him ; to propound *impossible* conditions , or extremely *dishonorable* , unto him. And thus did the *Walensteins* plot Duke of *Fridland* , now serve the Duke of *Saxony* : offer in it, him such Termes, as he had small hopes , that the other would ever yeeld unto.

The use that *Walenstein* would have made of the time , that the Treaty should have taken up ; was a very handsome one. The *Saxon* souldiours , being now over-mastered in *Bohemia* ; began to judge of their Cause , by the speeding of it ; and a little entreaty , would have made a many of them , turne to the stronger. This was one of the plots , that *Walenstein* had upon *Saxony* ; to take advantage of the mutinies or discontents of his souldiours , and to inveigle them away from him. But his second designe was yet better. The *Saxons* having forsaken by this time , most of the further townes of *Bohemia* : and drawne their forces unto *Leutmeritz* upon the *Elb* , iust betwixt their owne Country and *Prage* City : *Walenstein* had now almost gotten betwixt them and home , ere they were aware of him. This had he done , he would either have cut all their throates ; or have forced the Duke and them , unto any conditions. To this last purpose , had he privately sent out some Regiments , to fetch a compasse about towards the North , to passe over the river *Pulsmitz* , and to take *Briesen* : and all on the sudden in the next place , to have chopr into *Ausig* upon the *Elb* , betwixt *Leutmeritz* (where the *Saxons* yet were,) and *Dresden*. Then had hee beeene Master of both banks of the *Elb* ; and they had beeene in a coope.

But

But *Arnheim*, by the mooving of these Imperialists, beginning to smoake *Fridlands* drift; out did him at last, in his which is preve- own finenesse. *Arnheim* seemes very forward to have the ted by *Arnheim*. treaty goe on; plyes *Fridland* with *Curriers* daily: suffers people to beleeve, that he was in earnest. But yet in the meane time, he privately sends some troopes before, to assure *Ausig* and the *Elb*; gets up his Baggage and Cannon: and all on the sudden, Satterday, May 26. in the night, sends these away before unto *Ausig*, and so onwards unto *Pirnau* upon the *Elb* in *Misnia*, neere unto *Dresden*. The next morning, *Arn- The Saxons for heims* selfe marches away with his whole Army: there, (at *Pirnau*) layes he a bridge ouer the *Elb*, and entrenches strongly.

Walenstein sware by no beggers (he uses not to sticke for that) to see himselfe thus over-reacht: and resolves to be revenged upon the rest of the *Saxon* garrisons, yet in the country. The first weeke of June, therefore; part of his Army he sends out under Colonell *Holck*, to take in *Egra*; and so to beate out his way into the *Upper Palatinate*, to ioyne with the Duke of *Bavaria*, against the King of *Sweden*. The *Saxon* Colonel *Starschedel*, as yet kept *Egra*: where he had once before held out a siege; as hath in the *Saxon Proceedings*, been told you. *Holck*, having laid his siege, loses 200 men in the *Walsteiners* Approaches. But nine whole Imperiall Regiments, now en- take *Egra*. compassing the City; *Starschedel* being first conscious, of the unsensiblenesse of the place; and out of all hopes of being relieved; parlies and yeelds, upon *Barnabe* the brightes day, marching out upon souldiers conditions, and being convoyed into *Saxony*.

Holck, after this turnes to the Northwards; and besieges *Elnbogen*. The towne was kept by the *Saxon* Colonel *Vitzthimb*, with part of those raw and new-levied forces: and altogether unprovided besides of Ammunition, and what was necessary for a siege. Yet some shew of resistance he made, though not with a purpose to keepe the Towne, but to obtaine the better conditions. A *Commission-Dormant* he had

had also in his pocket to give up the towne, if he were prest to it. Thus is that towne also rendred unto *Holck*, upon Thursday June 14: *Vitzthimb* being conducted home into *Saxony*.

Fridland in the meane time with the other part of the Army, marches up from *Prage*, and takes *Lentmeritz*, which the *Saxons* (as we told you) had voluntarily forsaken. This caused such a terror in *Misnia*, for feare he should fall into those parts; that those of *Leipsich* and other townes of trading, conveighed their goods into the *Elb*, and so away for *Hamborow*. The Duke of *Saxony* himself came to *Birnau* aforesaid, making all strong there, to keep out *Walenstein*. But He had other irons, now upon the anvile: his thoughts were now turnd against the King of *Sweden*; who, as he by this time heard, was farre already advanced into the *Upper Palatinate*: in pursuite there, of the Duke of *Bavaria*. This Duke, had earnestly now againe sollicited his speedy assistance: who, (to the wonder of the world) having made such quicke dispatch in *Bohemia*: now leaving soime Regiments at *Lentmeritz*, turnes with the rest towards the Frontiers, unto *Egra*; much neerer to *Bavaria*. *Walenstein* goes towards *Egra*,

This was much about the 16th or 17th of June. The Army to ioyne with he now led with him, seemes to be about 110, or 112 Cornets *Bavaria* against of Horse, besides some troopes of *Crabats* light-Horsemen; the King of and about 140 Ensignes of Foot: in halfe of which, (if the list of his Army, that I have seene, be true) there were to be 300 in a Company. These numbers I collect, by the generall view both of h's Army and *Bavariaes* together, at their first coming before *Norimberg*: where were told 246 troopes of horse (besides *Crabats*,) and 197 Foot-Companies. Of these, the Duke of *Bavaria* at his ioyning with *Walenstein*, had 134 Troopes of horse, and 58 Foot-Companies, onely: so that the rest, were *Walsteiners*. *Saxony* thus freed of the feared invasion; sends *Arnheim* into *Lusatia* first; and so into *Silesia*, after that was cleared: where he recovered the *Saxons* honor lost in *Bohemia*: and within 2 moneths, overthrew *Diepenbach* and *Gotsse*, with the whole Imperiall Army.

The Duke of *Bavaria*, having surprised *Ratisbone*, under a pretence of exercising his souldiors hard by it : so soone as *Cratz* was returned from *Weissenburg*, advances into the *Upper Palatinate* towards *Egra*, to conjoyne with *Walenstein*. He in the beginning of June, marching full Northward from *Ratisbone*, quite thorow the *Upper Palatinate* : goes to *Amberg* first, the chiefe City of this *Palatinate*. Some five *English* miles to the left hand of this *Amberg*, is the Towne of *Sultzbach* ; belonging unto the Palatine *Augustus of Sultzbach* ; so often heretofore mentioned. To this Towne, the Duke sends a sufficient part of his Army : and *John Eberhard Count of Schomburg* led them. He besieging the place, hath it, after some dayes of opposition, delivered up to him on these conditions.

1. That two Captaines of Foote, with their Captaines, should be admitted into their Towne for garrison.
2. This *Bavarian* souldiery, was to be governed by such justice and military Discipline ; as that they should no wayes molest or doe injury to any Burger.
3. The Councillors, Officers, and Servants of the Prince, should have freeleave to depart the Towne, with all their goods, wives, and children.
4. The Princes Castle should be free from being plundered.
5. Billets and lodging should be assignd to the garrison, according as the Cittizens could among themselves agree upon it.

The *Bavarians* thus becomming masters of the Towne, were not so of their owne words. For, first, in stead of two Companies, they thrust 700 Foote, and 400 Horse, into the City. 2. The houses of the Princes Councillors, and of the richest Cittizens, were not plundered and rifled onely, but spoiled too : whatsoever was worth carrying, being destinated to be sent thence into *Amberg*. 3. The Princes Castle was foulely plundered and misused. 4. And 6000 Florens, with much terror and threatnings ; wrung out of the Princes Servants and the Cittizens. This was not *Grecian* faith, but *Bavarian* : and it may well be beleueed of them ; for so had they lately before, servd *Weissenburg*. This was done, about the

and the Duke
of Bavaria goes
to meeete him.

*Bavaria takes
Sultzbach*,

the 6th or 7th of June. The Duke of *Bavaria* with the other part of the Army, went and tooke in *Amberg*: where was not much resistance. Hence after some few dayes, he advances over the River *Nab*, towards *Durschenreyt* in the way to *Egra* and *Bohemia*. The King of *Sweden* (he heard) was by this time comming against him, from about *Norimberg*: and he thought it not best to abide his comming. Some 36 Cornets of *Walensteins* Horse were likewise neere at hand to joyne with him, and those he now went to meeete withall.

And indeed the King of *Sweden* was now comming against him: whose *March* up, and *Retreate* backe againe; we will now in *Walensteins Story* briefly touch upon; because *Walensteins* comming, now put him to it. The King arrived at *Furt*, ^{A touch (by the way) of t} 3 or 4 English miles from *Norimberg*, on Thursday June 7th. ^{King of Swe} ^{dens pursuin} of *Bavaria*. Friday and Satterday, he there held a generall muster: the numbers then found, we shall by and by tell you. Satterday night, into *Norimberg* he went: where the King of *Bohemia* had beene a weeke before him. The next day, the two Kings, together with the Lord Marquesse *Hamilton*, John Duke of *Holstein*, &c, there rested, and heard a Sermon in Saint *Laurences*. June 11th Saint *Barnabees* day, about one in the morning, out went the King to his Army at *Furt* againe; & there propounds his going to pursue the *Bavarian*. The Army advances; and that Munday passes by the *Louvergate* of *Norimberg*, in this order. First, marched 10 Regiments of Foote: then, 20 peeces ^{The Kings fo} of great Ordnance, Cannons, Demicannons, and peeces of ^{ces, and ord} *Battery*: and 20 lesser Field-peeces after them. The greatest, were drawne with 20 or 22 horses a peecc: and the Lesser, with 6 or 8. Next marched 100 brave Cornets of Horse: and the Baggage and Ammunition-wagons last of all. By the *Hospitall-Gate* on the other side the City, marcht 50 Cornets of Horse more, 60 Ensignes of Foote, and 30 smaller Fielding-peeces. They were marching by, all that Munday. That night, lay the Kings at *Lauff* upon the River *Pegnitz*; some 9 English miles to the North-east of *Norimberg*. June 12th, the Army arrives at *Herschpruck*, due East up the same River, and as

much further. All this, was in his way to *Amberg*. This day the King sent the *Palatine Augustus* of *Sultzbach* his Lieutenant, (*Prince Augustus* himselfe, being before this, sent to quicken the Elector of *Saxony*) to recover his Lords Towne of *Sultzbach* againe. Foure hundred Horse, had he with him: who presenting themselves towards Evening upon a hill before the Towne, and demaunding to have it rendred: the *Bavarians* answer them with their Ordnance. But perceiving after a while, some Foote-Companies to bee comming up to second the Horse: they parly, yeeld, and goe out next day. The *Bavarian* Governor, was shot dead at his comming out, and that in revenge of the *Bavarians* former usage, of this Towne and *Weissenburg*. His guilty souldiours fearing the like justice, fling away their Armes, fall downe upon their knees; and offer to become the Kings souldiours. June 13, the King sets forward towards *Sultzbach*: 15 miles from *Herschpruck*. Midway betwixt these 2, is the Towne of *Hartmanshoven*: not great, but very advantageously situated for a Passe of strength; as standing where 2 small riverets fall into the *Pegnitz*; and having a wood and hill, right before it. The King much wondred, that *Bavaria* had neglected this Passage: who had, indeed, but forgotten it, and was even this day sending some troopes to hinder the King at it. But they came an hour or 2, too late.

That night, was the King purposed to lodge in *Sultzbach* Castle: but was put besides the pillow, by the newes of the enemies being seene about *Hambach*, foure miles to the North ward. This made him send out some light-horsemen, to discover the faces and motions of the enemy; and to draw with his whole army in Battaglia, towards that Quarter. These were the *Bavarian* Vant-curriers; of some of whom, there taken prisoners, the King learnt; that their Duke had already received 16000 *Walsteiners*; and that *Fridland* himselfe, was already in the *Upper-Palatinate*. This newes, causes the King to resolve upon the retiring backe to *Norimberg*. Some light skirmishes, betwixt his men and the *Crabats*, I omit: for all this of the Kings, is not upon the *Main*, but upon the *By* onely: and

and bro ught in, to bring downe *Walenstein*, the more metho-
dically.

The King now counter-marching ; recovers to *Norimberg* againe, upon Tuesday, June 19th. There he now resolves, to expect his enemy ; whom he was (for number) farre too wcale to inete withall in a pitcht battell. From hence he sends about, to hasten his Generalls to him. Should not the King have sate to *Norimberg*. downe by some friend-City ; *Walenstein* would have follow-
ed him ever. And of all Cityes, this of *Norimberg*, was the best for the Kings purpose. Twas neerest : the Kings royall word was engaged to defend it : twas strong ; and exceeding well victualled ; both for their owne use, and supply of his Army. Round about this City he rides, both to view the Fortifications of the Towne, and to lay out the ground for his owne Retrenchments. These began at the River, and were a mile compasse round about the towne, with skon-
ces and Redoubts, where-ever need was. His Workes, were ^{The King en-} strongest upon the South side : because he judged, the Enemy ^{camps about} would encampe on that side, as indeed he did. The Graff or *Norimberg*. Moate about his head-workes, was 12 Foote wide, and 8 deep. Eight thousand men, laboured dayly upon the Fortifications : and yet was not all compleate, when *Walenstein* came against him. But of this slightly, because beyond my Title.

The Duke of *Bavaria*, after that *Don Balthasar* was come with the Aides from *Walenstein* unto him, returns boldly o-
ver the River *Nab*, unto *Nabpurck* : and there confronts the Kings Army. Some also he sent more Southerly, as farre as *Schwandorff*, upon the same River. Those forces of his which the King heard of about *Hampach*, were sent from that divi-
sion of his Army at *Nabpurck*. These having some skirmi-
shes, with 2 or 3 troopes which the King sent to discover them : were after 2 or 3 charges, driven backe upon their fellowes. But the *Swedes* too farre pursuing, fell into an am- ^{Some Swedes} bush : and were to a man almost, there cut in pieces. ^{defeated.}

By the middle of June, was *Fridland* himselfe faine into the *Palatinate* : and to shew who it was, that was now a com-

Walenstein comes into the Upper Palatinate,

which he destroys before him.

Walenstein and Bavaria ioyne.

A Swedish Regiment of Dragoones defeated.

A noble Courtey of Walensteins.

ming: He came like *Jupiter* in the *Poet*; all in thunder and lightning. *Walenstein* must be dreaded. All in fire & tempest he takes and destroies the Prince *Palatines* Dominions, and other the poore *Protestant* townes, before him. The same spoile, had *Don Balthasar* committed in the Vpper Marquisate of *Parent*; which belongeth unto a Prince of the *Electorall* house of *Brandenburg*. There, is *Kemnath* taken againe; which the *Austrian* banished Baron *Kefferhullo*, had a little before taken, with the Kings forces. *Bondesilia* and *Tirschein* are over-rumne: and this last, burnt to ashes. There were prayers in all Churches and Cloysters now made, in *Austria* and other *Catholike* countries, for the good successe of the Armies: the zeale of which, (it seemes) was so hote, that (like a *Burning-glaſſe* at a distance) it set fire upon the *Upper Palatinate*.

These 2 Armies being conioyned; sate downe a while about *Amberg*; and *Sulzbach*. There they mustered, and contrived their busynesse. Vpon Tuesday June 26, by one in the morning the Armies rise: marching with much silence towards *Newmarkt*, full South-west from thence, and about 18 *English* miles distant. At *Sindlebach* in the way, 6 miles short of *Newmarckt*; 7 of their Regiments about 6 a clocke in the morning; fell upon a *Swedish* Regiment of Dragooners under 7 Cornets, which were Colonell *Dubalts*; and 4 troopes of Horse, of Colonell *Sperrenters*. The *Swedish* at first, made indifferent good worke with them; and laid some 40 *Crabats* upon the earth, that made the first *Caſcado*, and fell into their Quarters. But being by such a multitude surrownded; they were alomſt all slaine, and the gallant *Dubalt* taken prisoner: whom *Walenstein* very honourably, set presently free again without ransome. This fight was almost 20 miles from *Norimberg*: whither word by noone, being carried unto the King; he with all speede drew out his best Horse, advancing that very evening, to make the reskue. But the newes of the defeate, turnd him backe againe. Divers ſuch like Rencounters paſſed betwixt the Horse of either ſide, with enterchanged fortunes; before *Walenstein* came to ſettle.

Thus

Thus came the Armies along: and their purpose was, to besiege and starve up the King of *Sweden*. His other Generalls with their Forces, were not yet come up to him; and they knew themselues too strong for him. Part of their Army, skowres all along the river *Pegnitz*; which runs thorow *Norimberg*. These going due West from *Sultzbach*; take *Herschpruck*, *Lauff*, and *Altorff*: to hem in the King on that side, and to keepe his victuals and aides from him. Vpon the Southerne side of *Norimberg*, came the other part of the Army: and both the Dukes with it. About Iune 27 or 28, they from *Newmarckt*, first send to *Freyenstat*; a towne in a morasse some 10 miles to the South-West; where they appoint their chiefest *Magazine*. The Army advances unto *Rott*, due South from *Newmarckt*, and 15 *English* miles to the North of *Norimberg*: Here *Tillyes Magazine* sometimes was, when he besieged *Norimberg*; and where his powder miscarried. Some Regiments are here left: so that this was *Walensteins* first Quarter. Here *Walensteins* *sc.* passes he the *Rednitz*; which runnes thence within 4 *English* verall *Quar-* miles to the West of *Norimberg*; and so due North to *For-* *ters*. *cheim*, and into the *Mayn* at *Bamberg*. This river, would *Wa-* *lenstein* now possesse himselfe of. Downe along therefore up- on the Westerne shore of it he goes, unto *Swabach*; 7 miles from *Rott*, and 8 or 9 from *Norimberg*. Here had *Tilly* also sometimes enquartered; and here, the Dukes now made their second Quarter. Betwixt this and *Furt*, (almost 10 *English* miles further beyond *Norimberg*, and wide of it) lay his Horse- guards all the way, with some Foote-Regiments here and there. Their safety, was the river *Rednitz*: which parted them from the Kings Army. To this *Swabach*, they came Iune 30th: where they put 17 goodly Foot-Regiments, into *Battaglia*. To confront these, the King brings out his Horse: but the ri- vers being betweene, forbade all comming at one another.

Walensteins chiefe Quarter was at *Furt*: where Iuly 4th he sate downe; and entrenches; where, the fastnesse of the woods; the tops of the hills; and the advantage of being betweene the 2 rivers *Rednitz*, and *Pegnitz*, (which a little from thence make

The Armies
confront one
another.

make an alliance betwixt their Issues) made his Leaguer very much the stronger. Thus did the Dukes put themselues, betwixt the Kings campe, and the Country of Franconia: whence his forces and victuals were to come. All the townes on the other side, had they taken: and left him a breathing-place of some 4 English miles onely, round about his Quarters. He must now trust to be victuald out of Norimberg: & it comes not far short of a miracle, that one town should be so wel provided, as

What forces the King now had in his Trenches to doe it. The King now had 132 Ensignes of Foot: which made up 10767, in the Muster-booke: and 152 troopes of Horse: which came to 7676. In all, 18443 men, as I have seene it written out of the Army. These were too many, for one towne to maintaine: and yet too few, not to be bidden battell by 2 such Armies. But their purpose being to *Diet* *Him*, and to avoide *blood-letting* in *themselues*: forbare to assault him. Not perchance, because *Walenstein* durst not, but for that he would not: he durst not put all *Germany* and *Italy*, upon the fortune of one Battell. But the King to give them their *welcom* into the field, the very first night, and next day, July 5th cut in pieces 3 troopes of their Horse, and brought off 3 of their Cornets. And here I leave them.

The King cuts off 3 Cornets.

FJNIS.

A Table drawne by way of a Journall or Dia-

to shew where the King, Horn, Tilly, Bavaria, and Walenstei-
were, and what they did upon those dayes, that are men-
tioned in the Margent.

September. The King
16 Sets forward.
18 Takes Erfurt in Darin-
gen.
26 Lies at Arnstorf.
27 Comes to Ilmenau.
28 Passes the Durieng-
waldt.
29 Comes to Schleusing.
30 Besieges Konigshoven in
Franconia.

September. Tilly
8 Flees to Hall.
9 To Ascherleben.
13 Moves from Halberstat.
17 Comes to Alfelt.
25 Passes the Weser.
26 Goes to Warburg.
30 Comes to Fritzlar in
Hessen.

September. Gustavus
27 Sent against Altri-
29 Takes Gotha.
30 Comes to the King.

October.
1 Takes Schweinfurt.
2 Enters it.
3 Writes letters to Bamberg.
4 Comes before Wurtsburg.
8 Takes it.
Levies forces about
10 Wurtsburg.
11 Sends tropes abroad to
12 take townes in Wurts-
&c burg and Bamberg Di-
ocesses.
16 Defeates Tillians, and
takes Werthaim.
His forces still about
17 the Country.
&c
21 Defeates more Tillians
and takes Rotenburg.
22 Defeates some few Lor-
rayners.

October.
2 Goes from Fritzlar.
3 Spoiles townes in Hessen.
4 Joynes with Altringer.
6 Musters at Fulda.
10 Is at Aschaffenburg.
11 Sends Altringer to the
Lorrayners.
16 Sends 3000 towards
Werthaim.
17 The Lorrayners ioyne
with him.
18 Goes towards the Palati-
nate.
20 Is about Darmstat.
21 Some of his defeated at
Rotenburg.
22 Takes Babenhausen.
23 Sollicites Franckford :
And goes into the Berg-
straes.

October.
With the King a
moneth.

The King.	Tilly.	Horn.
shofsheim, ergentheim other towns } taken	Duke of Bavaria levies.	
Declaration at burg.	30 Tilly still about the Pa- nate.	With the King all this while.
November. w taken. g about Oxenfurt.	November. 5 Turnes backe from the Palatinate. 6 Is at Oxenfurt.	November.
es towards Franck- ns about Steinheim. ng comes downe the yn, taking Procel- n, Miltenburg, Klin- berg, Trenfelt, and haffenburg.	7 Takes townes in the way 8 to Norimberg. 9	5 Left about Wurts- burg.
ers Hanaw. s at Offenbach. ers Franckford. es Hoeft.	13 Takes Rottenburg. 14 Takes Winshaim, and 15 Guntzenhausen, and Weissenburg. 16 Is about Onspach. 17 Comes to Swabach. 18 Before Norimberg.	
rnies to Franckford. Thanksgiving at	22 Rises from Norim- berg.	
is league with the etterawish Earles. leaguer at Costum ch the Actions about Ringaw & Bingen s Army returnes to ford.	24 Lyes two nights at 25 Rott.	29 Is still in Franconia.
December. es thorow Franck- to besiege Heidle-	December. 2 Meetes Duke of Bava- ria.	December. 4 Takes Kitzing. 2 Takes

The King.

2 Takes Townes in the Bergstraes.
 4 Besieges Oppenheim Fort
 7 Passes the Rhine.
 8 Takes Oppenheim.
 13 Takes Mentz. (umph.)
 14 Enters Mentz in Tri-
 16 His thanksgiving.
 18 Fridberg taken.
 21 Konigstein taken.
 22 Spaniards forsake some
 23 Townes in the Palati-
 24 nate.
 26 Rhinegrave defeats
 &c the Spanish about the Mosel.
 Spiers City accords with the King.

Tilly.

4 Goes to Nordlingen, where he stayes.

12 Duke of Bavaria at Ingolstat Diet.

Bavaria sends one Ambassador to the Emperor, and another to the King of Sweden.

Horn.

10 And Winshaim this time.
 12 And Gebstattle.
 16 And Mergenth Rotenburg, ab time.
 20 Takes Hailbrun.
 26 Returns into nia.
 30 Takes Guntzen

January.

1 Manheim surprised.
 3 Heidleberg and Franc-
 4 kendale slightly blockt
 5 sup.
 10 The 14 dayes Truice be-
 gin.
 12 They goes to Gelnhausen.
 In Truice time, Spaniards
 passe the Mosel.
 20 King returnes to Franck-
 ford.
 22 Actions betwixt the
 23 Rhinegrave and the
 24 Spaniards.
 Duke Bernard takes townes
 about Mentz.

January.

1 Altringer prepares to re-
 lieve Rotenburg.
 3 Tilly goes to Donawert
 4 and to Amberg, purpo-
 sing to send against the
 Saxons.
 9 Cratz made Felt-Mar-
 shall in the Upper Palati-
 nate.
 10 Tilly returnes to Nord-
 11 Slingen.
 18 Sends some Ordnance out
 of Wilsburg Castle, to
 Offa.

January.

1 About Winshain
 2 Busie about his
 3 sisters.
 4
 10 The Truice begi
 14 At Iphoven.
 16 Goes to Norim
 21 Returns to Sc
 furt.
 25 Prepares to goe
 Bamberg.
 29 Takes Hochstat

The King.

February.
spares to goe against
miards.
ing of Bohemia ar-
tasted.
es to besiege Creutz-
n.
Palatine Birckenfields
levyes.
reutznach taken.
ing returns to Franck-
d.
Actions about Spiers.

March.

gives newes of Horns
esse.
s his Army together.
s them on before a-
t Tilly.
selfe sets out from
ckford.
at Aschaffenburg.
Lohr.
Werenfelt.
mes to Arnstein.
Tettelbach.
Kitzing : and Hep-
to Oxenfurt.
Winshaim.
Dunkelspiel.
camps at Furt.
es into Norimberg.
ne skirmishes with
Tillians.

Tilly.

February.
2 Cratz goes to succor For-
cheim.
4 }
5 } Tilly busie in fortify-
6 } ing on the Danuby.
&c
20 Goes into the Vpper Pa-
latinat.
22 At Newmarckt.
23 Provides to goe against
Horn.
24 Marches to Altoiff.
27 Enters Forch. im.
28 Comes before Bamberg.

Horn.

February.
1 Takes Bamberg.
Rainy weather, that he can
doe nothing.
20 Provides to besiege For-
cheim.
28 Tilly comes against him.

March.

1 Enters Bamberg.
Stayes about Hasfurt in the
Bishoprick of Bamberg.
12 Calls a Councell of War
at Forcheim.
13 Musters at Forcheim,
and marches towards the
Vpper Palatinat.
15 At Erlang.
16 At Newmarckt.
18 Still at Newmarckt.
20 Drawes towards the Da-
nuby.

March.

Forsakes Bamberg: and pas-
ses the Mayn.
2 In sight of the enemies.
3 Hee defeats two Regi-
ments.
4 Againe in sight of the
enemy.
5 Goesto Schweinfurt.
6 Busie in disposing
my.
7 Writes to the King.
11 Comes to the King.
15 Goes with the Vantgard
to Winshaim.

The King.

24 Comes to Oetingen and Pleinfelt.
 26 Takes Kaisham.
 27 Takes Donawert.
 28 Hebron sent out: and Fuggers Castle taken.
 29 Prince August sent out.
 30 Banier sent to Newburg.
 31 King passes thorew Donawert.

Tilly.

26 About Ingolstat.

Horn.

Stayes with the King.

Aprill.

1 Army drawne to Northeim.
 2 Duke William Weymar comes.
 3 Place for the Bridge over the Lech sought and found.
 4 The day of the great fight.
 5 King passes into Bavaria.
 7 Goes towards Ausburg.
 8 Encamps at Lechausen.
 9 Summons Ausburg.
 10 Takes it.
 14 Goes into it.
 15 Goes to Waho, towards Ingolstat.
 16 Comes before it.
 17 Spent in working.
 18 A Sally.
 20 The Kings Horse shot: & Marquesse of Baden slaine.
 22 Goes to Newburg.
 24 Rises from Ingolstat.
 25 Takes Mosburg.
 29 King goes to Landshutt.

Aprill.

1 About Rain.
 2 Encampt along the Lech.
 4 Defeated at the Lech; and Carried away wounded to Newburg.

6 Bavaria with his Army
 7 flees towards Ingolstat.
 8

18 Bavaria surprizes Ratisbone.

20 Tilly dyes in Ingolstat.

Aprill.

7 Sent to pursae Tilly.

23 Sent from before stat to spoyle Bavaria.

25 Comes againe King.

27 Hee and Hebr Landshutt.

King. Bavaria and Walenstein.

Horn.

comes backe to Mos-

3. es Freising.

ances towards Mun-

1. rs it.

usters there.

at Ausburg, to goe a-

ft Offa.

livers Bibrach.

ue backe to Ausburg.

20 Crats falls into Bavaria.

27 Takes Weissenburg.

Iune.

ng advances towards
imberg.

akes Aichstat
d Pappenhaim.

rives at Furt.

usters.

Norimberg.

Lauff,

Herschpruck.

tzbach recovered.

ires to Norimberg.

amps at Norimberg,

Iune.

Bavaria goes into Vpper
Palatinat.

5 } Takes Sultzbach

6 } and Amberg,

10 Goes towards Walstein.

13 } Returns upon the

14 } King.

15 Walstein comes.

26 Goes from about Am-
berg.

27 Defeats Dubalt.

28 At Freyenstat.

30 At Swabach.

Iune.

Sent towards the Palatinat.

July.

4 Encamps at Furt.

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